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HETERODOX LONDON

OR

PHASES OF FREE THOUGHT IN THE METROPOLIS

C. MAURICE DAVIES

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE

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By C. MAURICE DAVIES

UNORTHODOX LONDON [1874]

HETERODOX LONDON

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BY

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C. MAURICE DAVIES

Two Volumes in One

[1874]

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HETERODOX LONDON:

OR,

PHASES OF FREE THOUGHT IN THE METROPOLIS.

BY

REV. CHARLES MAURICE DAVIES, D.D.
AUTHOR OF "ORTHODOX" AND "UNORTHODOX LONDON," ETC.

"PROVE ALL THINGS: HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
TINSLEY BROTHERS, 8, CATHERINE STREET, STRAND.
1874.

TO MY FRIEND,

MRS. MAKDOUGALL GREGORY,

I Dedicate

THIS NOW CONCLUDED SERIES OF VOLUMES ON THE RELIGIONS OF LONDON.

MAURICE DAVIES.

London, 1874.

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ERRATA.

Page 201, line 3, and page 202, first line, *for* "Will," *read* "Vrill."

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INTRODUCTION.

I AM well aware that to excuse is to accuse one's self; but I fancy I see my orthodox friends uplifting both hands in pious dismay, and hear them exclaiming, "*Usque quo tandem?* Having exhausted Unorthodoxy, and had his fling at Orthodoxy, what remains for this most analytical of authors to do next?"

I will tell them.

After going through the different phases of our multiform Church of England as by law established, and also the various outlying bodies, all of which claimed orthodoxy, and many boasting that they exhausted it, I found a large margin still remaining in those who made neither claim, and asserted no lot or inheritance even in the larger Church of England, yet most of whom were, in their own sense of the word, religious. I saw that, where these bodies were secular and materialistic, the line between religion and politics became shadowy and ill-defined, and that if my work was to comprehend the whole world of religious London, it must include some of these. The

result was the resumption of my pen, and the gradual accretion of a vast mass of data, from which the materials for the present volumes have been selected.

Several of the chapters which succeed have already seen the light in the columns of newspapers—some in London daily papers, many of them in the *Manchester Evening News*, a few in the *Scottish Guardian*, and others in a local journal which I have edited. Urged at last by inexorable time, and my publishers' call for "more copy," I have written down the results of my ecclesiastical wanderings in the "far countries" where my observations were made, at last literally racing the press to bring my work to its conclusion. Perhaps, when the nature of that work is considered, it will scarcely have suffered by this rapid style of composition. It affects to be no more than what one of my many kindly critics termed its predecessor, a series of "literary photographs," a collection of pen-and-ink portraits of men who are, in their several departments, influencing the tone of current thought, and leaving their mark on our day and generation. During some portion of the time while I wrote I was in full parochial work in a London curacy, and had to snatch rare intervals of leisure between frequent services on Sundays and week-days. This, again, I cannot regret, for I found my several works, in and out of church, re-act one on the other. I hope a sense of my own shortcomings made me look with toleration on the gropings of others after truth. I am sure the observation of their

successes or failures made me less dogmatic in my own pulpit teachings. These are suspended now; but the combined work has left deeply impressed upon my own mind the consummate wisdom of the text I have chosen as my motto, "Prove all things: hold fast that which is good."

I must apologize—I use the word in its strict rather than in its ordinary sense—for the length to which my chapters run in this work. I felt it right to let those whom I reported speak for themselves. Free Thought, or Advanced Thought, has been too often condemned without a hearing. It is not for me to say whether those whom I chronicle are right or wrong; but I may, without undue advocacy, state my conviction that they are thoroughly honest, and intensely in earnest; and I feel that those who believe them to be wrong ought to be made aware of the nature and extent of the error—if "error" it be—with which they have to cope. I had no idea of this when I entered on my present study. I spoke and thought vaguely of "Infidelity," "Free Thought," "Secularism," and "Atheism." I scarcely realized the lines of demarcation between them, or how they met and blended imperceptibly the one in the other.

I feel also that there are some few of those about whom I have written who may be disposed to resent their inclusion in a book bearing the title of "Heterodox." I have, in the body of the work, continually made the remark that I use the term in its

etymological rather than its colloquial sense. I feel I have a right to use it wherever those I am describing themselves repudiate the title of orthodox; and I have strictly so limited myself. I am thinking especially of the Swedenborgians, or New Jerusalem Church, when I speak thus. They have made no protest against the imputation of Heterodoxy or Mysticism; and I therefore the more readily assure them that I use the terms in an utterly inoffensive sense. In first projecting my book, I contemplated the alternative title, "Phases of Unbelief in London." Had I retained that expression on my title-page, I could of course have only included those who fell short of the standard of belief in the Established Church, which I have been obliged all along to take arbitrarily as my average. But there is a heresy of excess, as well as of defect, and only so could my excellent friend Dr. Bayley become the subject of my remarks. It was as the complement and corollary of the chapters on Modern Spiritualism that I felt some notice of the New Jerusalem Church to be necessary. The Irvingites, or *soi-disant* "Catholic Apostolic Church," might have claimed mention in the same way, their "unknown tongues" and "prophecies" being palpably a phase of trance-mediumship; but that body so studiously threw impediments in the way of anything like a fair examination on a former occasion, that I felt it was hopeless to expect any distinct statement of their tenets and practices.

Moreover, in spite of vigorous private proselytizing and a spasmodic platform propagandism, the body can scarcely be deemed characteristic of the present religious thought of London; indeed, it promises to become ere long as moribund and effete as its well-nigh obsolete Apostolate.

Adverse critics might easily describe my present method as one of paste, scissors, and padding; and it is from no wish to anticipate such a judgment, but in simple justice to myself, to urge that the selection of a typical discourse from the published works of those I was describing has been about the most difficult, certainly the least interesting portion of my task. It could scarcely be, however, that I should, in each case when I paid a flying visit, fall in with a thoroughly characteristic discourse or lecture; and there I felt bound to supplement my account with something that *was* an embodiment of the real opinions of the man or the sect. In the case of Mr. Bradlaugh, I *did* get two discourses, which I venture to think eminently characteristic of his religious and political opinions; and in these, let me say, I have been obliged to trust to my own reports. The lectures at the Hall of Science are not as a rule taken down; and where this is the case I have to be satisfied with a few rough notes, jotted down during the discourse or debate, and afterwards aided by a not very retentive memory in their transcription.

It is, of course, inevitable that only one side of the

question presents itself in this book, which will therefore assume the appearance of advocacy; but not more so than its predecessors did in the cases of Dissent and Established doctrines. It was certainly desirable to let Unbelief speak for itself as freely as the various grades of faith. Not to have done so would have been to act the advocate indeed: and I cannot help thinking that the suppression of Heterodox subjects, and careful concealment of infidel arguments, is, on the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* principle, exceedingly dangerous—far more dangerous than the fullest quotation, as appearing like a concession that such utterances, if allowed to go forth, must of necessity carry conviction with them. I can well remember that, when I was a boy, a pious but injudicious relative warned me never to read Byron, showing me at the same time Moore's twenty-two volumes, carefully locked inside a wire grating in the study. The consequence was I never rested night or day until I had filched the key and read the whole dozen and ten through from beginning to end; whereas I should certainly have been scared by the mere dimensions of the work had it been placed openly in my hands—and possibly it might have been well to defer the reading of certain passages of both Life and Works until I was a little older. I grieve to add, too, that most of my studies were made on Sunday, when the family went to church three times a day, and I was occasionally "indisposed"—rather frequently, I fear—

while the perusal of those twenty-two volumes was going on. In these days of cheap literature and outspoken journalism, it is quite hopeless to think of concealing Heterodoxy. The very best method is to be outspoken too, and show a belief in the principle that Truth is great and will prevail.

I feel it the more necessary to dwell on this because once or twice, during the progress of these sheets through the press, I have found the hair of my esteemed publisher stand on end at the tremendous nature of some of the documents quoted, *e.g.*, Mr. Bradlaugh's Letter to the Prince of Wales, and the utterances of the Land and Labour League. I would gladly have suppressed these if I could have done so with justice to my subject; but I should have utterly failed to show the real genius of the movements in question had I adopted the ostrich-like policy of putting my head in a hole, and seeing nothing but what was decorous and satisfactory.

I will only add, in conclusion, that I believe the following pages to be fairly representative—not by any means exhaustive—of the great outlying world beyond the churches—a very *terra incognita* to the great mass of ordinary religious people. I must acknowledge the ready assistance I have met with from all, or nearly all, of the heterodox people with whom I have been brought into contact. They certainly have not sought to keep back their opinions or veil their practices from the fullest scrutiny. The

political bodies have been, naturally enough, a little more reticent than the religious; but even here I have had more materials volunteered than I could use. My thanks are specially due in this way to the Secretaries of the Freethinkers' Benevolent Fund, the North London Secular Club, and the Tower Hamlets and Deptford Radical Associations, who supplied me with data which I can only thus acknowledge. I am extremely sorry that the Kansas Co-operation refused to answer my letters until too late, when the chairman wrote a few lines promising future particulars. The so-called—but certainly misnamed—"corresponding secretaries" never deigned to answer, even by forwarding the printed documents of the Association, of whose constitution I was therefore left as much in the dark as of that most Eleusinian of all mysteries which has quite eluded my investigations, and wrapped itself around with impenetrable silence—the Eleusis Club at Chelsea.

Still, I believe my list is representative, as I said, if not exhaustive; and these few exceptions only prove the rule of general courtesy and frankness by which I have been assisted in the execution of my interesting task.

M. D.

April, 1874.

HETERODOX LONDON.

THE NEMESIS OF FAITH.

As the greater includes the less, so it would be inevitable that, in a work on Heterodox London, one should embrace some names which would also appear in London "Unorthodox." The distinction appears to be virtually this—that while Unorthodoxy refers to those who deem themselves orthodox, yet whose claims from the standpoint of the Established Church would not be conceded, Heterodoxy is the special 'doxy of those who lay no claim to orthodoxy whatever, who elect to be heretical, and who would resent the imputation of doctrinal soundness as a personal affront. There is, at all events, none of the besetting danger lest we should offend such persons by openly exempting them from the wide embrace even of unorthodoxy itself.

Mr. Moncure D. Conway, of South Place, Finsbury, ministering in what is generally known as "Fox's Chapel," may be regarded either as at the north pole of mere unorthodoxy or, in his capacity of

pure Theist, in the subtropical region of heterodoxy. Beside a Congregationalist or a Wesleyan he would be a brand fit for the burning, but amongst Atheists and Freethinkers he is of the very strictest sect of the Pharisees. The novelty of being able to view this gentleman under such an aspect is positively refreshing.

Since my visit to South Place Chapel in old unorthodox days it had been completely refurbished, as if in anticipation of the position it was to occupy in the ranks of Heterodoxy. Open seats of quite ecclesiastical build had replaced the former cavernous pews, but the pulpit had simultaneously given place to a largish platform, on which was erected a rostrum of red mahogany, somewhat suggestive of a grocer's counter, perhaps in order to tone down the early Gothic character of the seats. Behind the rostrum half a dozen cane-bottom chairs gave the idea of an impending public meeting, and a grand piano covered with green baize lent rather a rakish air to the *tout ensemble.* But then, again, the counter was flanked by two gas standards almost orthodox in their configuration, and these were lighted on the occasion of my visit, though the morning was a particularly bright one. A pendent chandelier might have been termed by a very slender exercise of the imagination a "corona lucis." Altogether South Place Chapel seemed to be "looking up."

Once more, W. J. Fox's Old Hymnal had been supplemented with several hundred new hymns taken

from the most eclectic sources, but with great care and discrimination. The choir, too, was augmented and enlarged, so that it would have done credit to any Ritualistic Church in London. The old and surely most illogical link between broad doctrine and cold service seemed at last to have been discarded.

I was attracted to Mr. Conway's on this particular Sunday by seeing the subject of his oration set down as "The Nemesis of Faith," the title, some will recollect, of Mr. J. A. Froude's remarkable book, which provoked as much controversy as "Essays and Reviews" itself, when it first appeared. The authorities of Exeter College, Oxford, of which society Mr. Froude was a Fellow, were injudicious enough to burn the book publicly in Hall, thereby giving it about as good an advertisement as Archdeacon Denison did "Essays and Reviews" by proscribing it in Convocation. While the religious papers spoke of this circumstance in sensational headings as the "Public Burning of a Blasphemous Book," the literary organs lauded it to the skies, and the consequence was that all we undergrads possessed ourselves of the volume, and the recollection of the event lent an additional interest to the title of Mr. Conway's oration, which, I thought, might on other grounds as well, be distinctive as to the position of pure Theism in the ranks of metropolitan heterodoxy. I was not doomed to be disappointed.

The service—if so we might term it—was simplicity

itself. Three hymns—or rather two hymns and an anthem—were sung, all very creditably, the last with exceptional ability. Three lessons were read, one from the Psalms, a second from the Gospel of St. John, and a third from the book I have spoken of bearing the same title as Mr. Froude had chosen for his lecture. It was an excerpt from the singularly beautiful chapter where Markham Sutherland, the young clergyman, halting between Orthodoxy and Theism, muses among the ruins of an old abbey, and seems to hear its walls speak to him:—"And now look at me," the old ruin said; "centuries have rolled away, the young conqueror is decrepit now; dying, as the old faith died, in the scenes where that faith first died; and lingering where it lingered. The same sad, sweet scene is acting over once again. 'Twas the college of the priests, and they are gone, and I am but a dead ruin where the dead bury the dead. The village church is outliving me for a few more generations; there still ring, Sunday after Sunday, its old reverend bells, and there come still the simple peasants in their simple dresses—pastor and flock still with the old belief; there beneath its walls and ruins they still gather down into the dust, fathers and children sleeping there together, waiting for immortality; wives and husbands nestling side by side in fond hope that they shall wake and link again the love-chain which death has broken, so simple, so reverend, so beautiful! Yet is not that, too, all passing away, away beyond recall? The old monks

are dead. The hermit-saints and hallowed relics are dust and ashes now. The fairies dance no more around the charmed forest ring. They are gone, gone even here. The creed still seems to stand, but the creed is dead in the thoughts of mankind. Its roots are cut away, down where alone it can gather strength for life, and other forms are rising there; and once again and more and more, as day passes after day, the aged faith of aged centuries will be exiled as the old was to the simple inhabitants of these simple places. Once, once for all, if you would save your heart from breaking, learn this lesson—once for all you must cease, in this world, to believe in the eternity of any creed or form at all. Whatever grows in time is a child of time, and is born, and lives, and dies at its appointed day like ourselves."

It was a strange sensation to hear these secular sentences read in immediate sequence after the Bible lessons. The former, however, were not taken out of the Bible itself, but from the volume called "The Sacred Anthology," a book of ethnical scriptures, compiled by Mr. Conway from pretty well all the religious works of the world. A peculiar kind of exercise, which was neither quite a prayer nor altogether a meditation, was the only other ingredient in this remarkable conference; and then Mr. Conway, in the garb of ordinary existence, proceeded to descant upon "The Nemesis of Faith."

The commanding fact, he said, of the moral

sentiment is its enormous power. The Divine right of kings passes away; the Divine right of the moral law remains. The dynasty is an absolutism. When we include all the religions of mankind in one large scope they will appear as one grand testimony to an invisible moral element in the universe—to its potency and supremacy. We see the world bending beneath this force, as forests bend beneath the viewless wind. For fear of it, or love of it, men have surrendered all visible treasures; by its real or supposed laws nations and races have been organized: empires have risen and fallen beneath its might; and thousands of idols, oppressions, wrongs, shattered and perished, marked the path where has passed through the world the great conviction of a truth and justice reigning in this universe. Progress is to greater light not to darkness. Is that all chance? That which seems to make therein the true explanation of this power is the progressiveness of its unfoldings.

And yet while this progress is observable in the history of religion itself, strange to say, the history of each particular religion has been a history of deterioration. Those very beliefs which have attested to the races of men the triumphant advance of God and might are themselves the most salient instances which a disbeliever can quote against the reality of such an advance. There was a period—just twenty-five hundred years ago—when throughout the known world there was a bursting forth of religious enthusiasm,

a flowering of religious genius, such as the world had probably never known before, and certainly has never known since. It was in or about the sixth century before Christ that the great prophets broke forth with their burthens of rebuke or hope, and the historic religions took their place in the consciences of men. While Buddha was then invoking a new life from the shrunken seed of Brahmanism, Confucius was in China presiding at a similar new birth of religion in Humanity. While Plato and Socrates in the same age were detaching faith and philosophy from the rest of ages at Athens, Isaiah and Jeremiah were breathing into the dead forms of Judaism that new life which at last could embody itself only in a combination of many religions around it. When now we repair to that wonderful age, when by study we enter into its spirit, and draw near to the great hearts that were beating, the great souls that were kindled and kindling the world, we feel as if we were in some enchanted land, surrounded by sunlit summits all beautiful with the feet of heavenly messengers bringing glad tidings unto men.

A single step onward in time, and those radiant summits have grown dark and cold. The prophets are sepulchred under the shrines of superstition. Their glowing hymns of faith have hardened into creeds, the new life has been petrified in rites and forms, each the tomb of a great soul. The Buddhist temple, the Confucian temple, the Synagogue—they are now at

the end of their long decline—but mausoleums of the inspired. Jesus tried to revive the prophetic age in the synagogue; but His religion found there no soil to take root in, and had to be transplanted and spring up as a new religion in Europe—in Europe, where its root was fed by the decays of other religions, which had similarly dawned in splendour and set in darkness and degradation.

So far back, these deteriorations appear to us as strange phenomena, attending as they do the actual progressive civilization and the moral—we may even say religious growth of the world. But when we see the same phenomena of decline and decay going on in Christianity, we enter into a region related to our own history; we are able to look into the causes and arrive at certain conclusions. We find ourselves in an era when the ordinary Christian forms and dogmas have become so hard as to be galling; both heart and brain—thought and conscience—have found their thraldom intolerable, and have broken their chains. But now, having assumed an outside and critical attitude towards them, and turned round to analyse every Christian institution and creed, we find each to be the lifeless form of a truth. We find that, as if under some spell, sacred experiences and beautiful ideas have been deformed into a nightmare brood of repulsive rites and dogmas.

Just now we are witnessing a severe conflict concerning the confessional. It is plain that the people

have an unspeakable horror of this ancient institution of the Church, and it is surely revolting to the instinct of every healthy heart that men and women should be called upon to go through the exercise of laying before a mere perfunctory personage those inner feelings which are most intimate and sacred. Yet it is easy to look beyond the period when this became an official and priestly affair, and find the original of the father confessor in some truly paternal soul, whose faithfulness and sympathy drew to him the sorrowful and the dejected, whose heart defended those whom others cast out, whose wisdom guided those who spontaneously sought him amid the trials and temptations of life. How sacred and beautiful would be the influence of one such soul in a mediæval village of ignorant peasants! Nay, does not each of us know here and there in the busy world great-hearted, high-minded men and women, whose lives seem appointed to bear counsel and benediction to all around them? Let that pure and gentle influence be prisoned in a form, entrusted to an official, debased by a fee, and you have what auricular confession now is—a miserable counterfeit.

Or consider the dogmas. We find large sects building themselves up on what they call justification by faith, as it is usually stated, "without the deeds of the law." So far as that is not mere cant, it is great and dangerous error. For "the law" means to mankind now a moral law; and the idea that man is

justified before the Supreme Purity by any act of mental belief irrespective of his life and conduct, makes religion something hardly more respectable than conjuring. It reflects the very basest conceptions of deity. It implies that the Infinite God is so dependent upon what man may think or say of Him, that he is quite ready to condone the wrong-doings of a life provided He can have the complacent gratification of an abstract homage to His person. It is still more dangerous as implying a divine favouritism, whereby the beatitudes of virtue may be reached without being virtuous—without the fulfilment of any intervening conditions of self-denial or fidelity—but only by an intellectual prostration made abject by its intent to gain an advantage. Yet we have only to translate this bit of cant back into an age when it had a meaning, to see in it the human heart groping its way from the darkness of ages to the light. On the lips of a Paul such a thought went forth to a people to whom the deeds of the law meant a fulfilment of the requirements of a priesthood; it meant the offer of sacrifice, the performance of rites and penances; and the saving faith which was to supersede all these was a faith which meant adherence to a holy cause, fidelity to an unpopular truth, a faith which implied every self-denial, and a revolution of the whole life and character. Justification by a faith brave enough to disregard the requirements of a fictitious law meant just the reverse of what is meant

by the perverted and debased form in which it is now preached in support of divine favouritism and human egotism. Or take the ancient and modern ideas of an Incarnation. This we are told is a great mystery. God is represented as laying aside His glory, and descending to be born of a Virgin, and the very incredibility of this is cherished as its chief glory. It is a test for each man of the degree to which he is willing to submit to the authority of God. On the altar where man once bound a bullock, he must now bind his common sense. The bleeding victim must now be human reason. It is maintained that this mystery of the Incarnation is a purposed mystery—a planned impossibility—that man may delight God with the sight of his proud reason renounced and humbled. But turn back to the idealistic utterances which have thus been petrified into a coarse creed, and we find there is no mystery whatever. In that Gospel of John where Platonic idealism and the humanity of Christ are finely blended, an apostle in his rapture wrote that the Word—the divine Logos, or reason, was in Christ made flesh and dwelt amongst us. That eternal reason had been known only in the speculations of philosophers, and as the subject of metaphysical dispute; that Logos had now for the first time been expressed in the perfections of a life—been translated for the affections—and its beauty been seen and known as it dwelt among men. It was the wisdom of God breaking through the

monopoly of the schools, gaining that interpretation for the ignorant and poor which for the first time made it a universal reality. All that Plato had said of Reason, the humblest heart now felt in Christ. Thus the original idea of the descent of the Love and Wisdom of God to men through the warm pulses of a great human heart, was actually a protest against that obscurantism—that superfluous mystery of a pretentious theology—which it is now adduced to support.

And, indeed, in this and in many other instances which might be named, we are brought face to face with the startling phenomenon, that the present dogmas of Christian sects have not so much debased and deformed the ancient faith, as distinctly reversed it, and set up on the ruins of each truth the precise falsity against which it was originally directed.

I do not mean to say that the truths which beamed upon high souls in the dawn of great religions were not blended with much error. But it is the dictate of reason and fairness to credit a generation rather with what it added than with what it inherited, to honour in it not the traditions it could not break through, but the discoveries which it originated and transmitted as the antidote of its own lingering errors. It is said that Plato, with all his enlightenment, still offered sacrifice to the gods. Taylor, the translator of Plato, was once carried before a police-court by his landlady for sacrificing a bull to Jupiter in his back parlour.

This English Platonist did not more grossly sacrifice the spirit of his master to the letter than they who can remember only the degree to which an inherited Judaism still lingered in Jesus or Paul, and build their churches on their sacrificial language or their demonology—mere conventionalities of their age—rather than on the love, the fraternity, the moral beauty, which alone make the individuality of their existence or the grandeur of their place in history.

Now what is this Nemesis which thus ever pursues the influence of the great? What demon is it that, as with wheel and rudder, pursues by land and sea the inspiration of genius, the discoveries of thought, and, so soon as they have ripened, strikes them with decay? What power is it that has this black art of deforming every benefit, transmuting truth to error, changing the benefactors of mankind into enemies, and bringing the prophets of the past to stone their own brothers of to-day?

It is no other than that Nemesis which for ever follows success. It is that very familiar form of selfishness which has no aim but to be on the winning side. It fights for the wrong when it is strongest, and then rushes for the right when that is strongest; it is the ever-strong upon the strongest side. Who does not see in political life how noble have been the bands of men who from a pure love of justice rise up from age to age to redress some heavy wrong and affirm some great principle? Their devotion is the honour of

humanity. Their courage is the romance of history. Few in numbers, despised and rejected, they struggle on while they convince now one, now another, until at last their efforts are crowned with victory, the poor negro is set free, the oppressed are enfranchised, the starving are fed, the builders take up the rejected stone and make it the head of the corner.

But now comes the fatal Nemesis. Nothing succeeds like success. All the mean and selfish hasten to marshal themselves under the new flag; with vehemence, with enthusiasm, they embrace the truth they had before hated; they claim to have been its special friends, and grasp the banners of triumph, take the leadership, and reap the harvest of other men's labour. But, alas! their embrace is fatal. They touch the victorious truth only to make it over into their own base image. They take it on their lips only to defile it with the hostile spirit still in their hearts. And so all our political parties begin in grandeur and decline into self-seeking. It was the worst day that Christianity ever saw when it was able to shout "Victory!" When a successor of the Cæsars held the stirrup for a Christian Bishop to mount his horse, Christianity which swords could not stay nor dungeons conquer, fell vanquished on the instant. From that day the aggregate baseness of the world surrounded it. Kings allied themselves with it; tyrants took it under their fatal protection; it became the watchword of armies, the badge of ambition. Pagans paganized it; priests

betrayed its spirit with treacherous kiss; despots pressed the reeking sword into the hand of the Prince of Peace, and enthroned him over Europe with his foot on the neck of the serf, and armies marshalled across the path of progress.

Surely this long and dreary chapter of history carries with it an impressive lesson for the emancipated religion of to-day. The modern history of Christianity represents a series of herculean efforts to rescue it from its degrading chains which its own popularity have bound around it. But the remorseless Nemesis has pursued and overtaken each of these in turn. Luther rose with the cry for a free Bible. Protestantism in its triumph has made the free Bible to mean an enslaved intellect. George Fox came, Wesley came, but the Shadow walked by them, and their heroic hearts now label a mass of dead forms and decorous conventionalities essentially the same as those that awakened their scathing thunders.

But the living Faith does not die because men die. The workmen die, but the work goes on. The ever-renewed life of the heart goes on, the progressive liberation of mind and soul goes not backward. Free men stand in the world to-day, heirs of all the ages. We live in an age when the trammels of the past are visibly snapping around us, the ancient shrines crumbling. The free religious thought of our age is drawing nearer each day to that shore which is lined with the wrecks of so many brave barques that have gone

before it—the Shore of Success. It is in the air that the civilized world is swiftly becoming heretical. Science echoes the protest of the liberated conscience, and churches begin to whisper Rationalism. So long as the champions of free thought were a poor minority there was nothing to fear; so long as liberal religion was the client of a few despised Radicals, and could offer its adherents nothing but contempt and suffering, the sure filtration went on which must keep its ranks pure, a band disinterested, consecrated to simple Reason and Right. And what higher aim could that minority have than to diffuse its truth, and send its light to brighten and quicken a world afflicted and oppressed by error? Only this aim could be higher: to keep its testimony unsullied; to preserve its truth untainted by any compliance. In a world where every preceding religion has stooped to conquer—stooped and never again become upright—conquered outwardly at the cost of being conquered inwardly—in such a world the terrible question must arise whether the religion of Reason is destined to survive its near success, or whether it will decline under the weight of popularity, lower its tone, and shade its light to accommodate or conciliate the world.

The old Nemesis is pursuing us. There never was a period when such a vast mass of social and intellectual power lay hovering between the old faith and the new, destined to offer itself to that form of the

new which it shall find easier, most accommodating to its transitional condition. We see this in the extent to which superstition and folly riot over the sects. What means all this revival of puerile ages, old legends, pilgrimages; this lighting up of the old candle-ends of bygone faiths to burn on Protestant altars; the resuscitation of ghosts and goblins? The superficial cry is that the old faith is returning. The plain fact is that intelligence is leaving the old faith; scholarship is ebbing away from the old forms, and leaving the ignorant to have it all their own way. The apparent retrogression is only the thick shadow cast by the increased light of our age. And this emancipated intelligence; where is it? For the time recovering itself. Enjoying its new liberty with science, literature, art. But this cannot always be. The old problems will continue to press on heart and brain after the old solutions are exploded. The deep heart of man will still long for the great revival. And when that period—already coming—has fully arrived; when the freest religion has drawn all great hearts to it, then will flock to the standard hearts not great—the swarm of self-seekers, who will enter only to betray, and seek to drag down the pure standard to their own level of ignorance or ambition.

This danger we can meet only by a perpetual, absolute consecration to truth.

We must leave no vestige of superstition, admit no

faintest notion that anything can be held sacred but what is true; no book, no form, no name.

They are already sending around the warning. Be sure to call yourselves Christians! Believe what you please, deny what you please, but hold on to the Christian name.

I believe that the life or death of the present liberal organizations will depend on their ability to surrender that last idol—that Christian name to which they have no honest right, and which represents a lowering of the whole aim which gave us life, and by which we must stand or fall.

INDEPENDENT RELIGIOUS REFORMERS.

One Sunday I awoke from my customary afternoon nap, and found myself free from the evening service. A new curate was, I believe, to be trotted out, or something of the kind. I was much too delighted at emancipation from the delivery of my accustomed "Lecture" to inquire critically into the cause of my freedom. No sooner had I got my rare holiday than, like a boy with a "tip," I began to cast about how I should spend it. So little had I calculated on freedom that I had omitted to get the Saturday evening papers, and run my eye down the dainty bills of fare comprised under the head of "London Churches Tomorrow;" so that, as the evening lamps were lighted, I found myself a waif and stray on the ocean of metropolitan ecclesiastical existence. The world was all before me where to choose my place of rest; for rest it is for a parson to be preached at occasionally. Not only so, but if he will simply vary his pulpit experiences judiciously, he will get a good many of the angles rubbed off his own idiosyncrasies by such a process. Having, not of course exhausted, but "stumped" to a pretty considerable extent the hemispheres of London, orthodox and unorthodox, I pro-

jected a wider area still—the great unexplored wilderness of Heterodoxy. I would reconnoitre those regions which did not even arrogate to themselves the title of Orthodoxy. Conscious though I was that many of the bodies I was forced by my artificial nomenclature to include under Orthodoxy were virtually heretical—for I had classed all as orthodox that even claimed communion with the Church of England as by law established—and equally well aware that many, if not all, of the outlying bodies claimed Orthodoxy as their common or exclusive right, I would, for the nonce, have none of these. I would seek the great ecclesiastically unwashed, the Pariahs of the religious caste-system, who would look upon the imputation of Orthodoxy as a personal insult. I knew little of them, and I fancy the world at large knows less—the vast desert region of Infidel and Atheistical London, largely allied with Republican London, and all as unknown to Orthodoxy, or so-called Unorthodoxy, for the matter of that, as Ashantees and Fantees were to civilization until circumstances brought the white man into their unlikely localities.

They were unlikely localities, too, in which I found the people I was in search of "most did congregate." As I ran my eye down a column of the *National Reformer*, in which I had some time before invested, for the purpose of making such an expedition, I found that the "Guide to the Clubs" therein contained would lead me very far astray indeed. There was

little time to spare, so I bethought me of the Society of Independent Religious Reformers in Newman Street, at which I had casually glanced on a former occasion, and the apostle whereof was the somewhat celebrated Dr. Perfitt. Out into the fog of an unseasonable January evening I plunged, making that my destination.

The Hall where the Independent Religious Reformers gather, situated at No. 14, Newman Street, Oxford Street, is, unless I greatly err, the same as that occupied by the followers of Edward Irving before they migrated to the more ambitious "Catholic Apostolic Church" in Gordon Square. Thither—how many years ago I dread to think—I used to be dragged, an unwilling juvenile, at very small hours for the "Morning Sacrifice," by two spinster aunts who had joined that persuasion, and again at five o'clock P.M. for the evening sacrifice. It was a veritable "sacrifice" on my part then, and I hope rather balanced some of my schoolboy peccadilloes, in the shape of furtive cigars and tortured cats. I have a confused recollection of unknown tongues, prophetic utterances, and such like, which were very much beyond my youthful comprehension then, and I fancy beyond my aunts' too, for they soon seceded, to my intense delight. All this came back to me, as the memory of boyhood's corduroys and escapades *does* come when one stumbles unexpectedly on a reminiscence of—I again decline to say how many years back. But the Hall was strangely metamor-

phosed since those early days. All the elaborate devotional paraphernalia of Irvingites were gone, and in place of them a rather wicked-looking proscenium fronted the deep stage at the farther end. In the spandrel of the arch were washy portraits of Shakspeare and Milton, that required as much gazing at as the photograph of a friend before one could identify them. Above was a temporary motto, in somewhat faint characters too, but appropriate to the occasion; and I feel sure the work of fairy fingers among the Independent Religious Reformers, the words being "A Happy New Year to You." At the rear of the stage was an organ with gilded pipes; but in front of it, as though to protest against any idea of being ecclesiastical, a grand pianoforte. Right and left was a choir of eight persons arranged à la Spurgeon, the ladies on one side and the gentlemen on the other; and Dr. Perfitt's rostrum was right in front, over where you would expect the footlights, with two splay gas-burners fronting the desk, on which stood what looked like a large Bible, and behind it Dr. Perfitt *in propriâ personâ.* He was a hale, scholarly-looking man, with long white philosophic beard, and unkempt grey locks streaming over his coat collar. He was habited in simple evening dress, and "orating" as I entered; for it was after seven o'clock when I got there.

There was a small congregation, or auditory, as we choose to term it, arranged in three grades of seats,

for which a charge of one shilling, sixpence, and threepence respectively was made. The gallery was pretty full, but the body of the Hall, consisting of the higher-priced places, only partially filled during the entire evening. The very large majority consisted of men, though there was a fair sprinkling of women. The former seemed mostly of the upper middle class, and the latter bore no outward or visible signs of strong-mindedness—at least not such as my uninitiated eye could discover. There was a marked absence of poor people, but the charge for admission might account for that. The morning lecture, which is more strictly confined to religious matters, is free. The evening's bill of fare consists of a "Topic"—generally, I believe, some political utterance or social subject that has cropped up during the week, and a lecture, each lasting about an hour, and interspersed with choral music, and organ performances by Mr. Field.

I felt that my visit was indeed well-timed, for Dr. Perfitt had just commenced a discourse on the "Topic" of Mr. John Bright's letter to a Nonconformist student *in re* Public Speaking, and the comparative advantages of written and extempore sermons. I could scarcely have wished for a more distinctive subject.

Dr. Perfitt had just disposed summarily of written treatises on rhetoric, and was quoting a remark made to himself by Lord Brougham on Whately's

"Rhetoric," which consisted of a strong recommendation never to look at it, as it was utterly useless. This sounded heterodox enough at the very outset to an old University man who had built much of his academic fame on the "Humanities;" but I did not come to Newman Street to have my private prejudices bolstered up. I was *pro tem.* an Independent Religious Reformer like the rest.

Young men, he continued, often came to him for advice as to making their début as public lecturers; and he always reminded them that people had special vocations, some to make shoes, others to make watches, others to go to sea, and so on; and it was no use to try to fit the round peg into the square hole, or *vice versâ.* One boy, for instance, was to be a parson. Possibly—he remarked in a satirical parenthesis—he was the biggest fool in the family, or there was a family living for him to step into. Another would have a large income, and he of course must be a statesman and go into Parliament. What would he do when he got there? The large proportion who went, irrespective of their vocation, never spoke at all—fortunately—or if they went with a written speech learnt off by rote, found that some one else had "stolen their thunder" before them. The difficulty was to find out the special aptitude of a youth.

To succeed in public speaking it was necessary first to feel intensely; and he recommended aspirants to form a class and read a play of Shakspeare, taking the

characters *seriatim*, as they came to each in turn, and not all trying to be Hamlets or Macbeths. They would soon find out if they had a special aptitude in this line. He contrasted quaintly, but appositely enough, the sing-song reading of the passage "To be, or not to be?" &c., with the delivery of one who felt the philosophic "situation" of that speech. A professional elocutionist ignored feeling, and "made people all arms and legs." The natural man did not declaim in this artificial way. He needed no elocutionist. His voice would of itself assume the proper tone, accordingly as he was reading a description of Cromwell charging at Marston or Naseby, and the same Cromwell standing by the deathbed of his mother.

Then, again, one must be full of a subject. In books there might be what he would call lath and plaster and padding, but not in speeches. You must see the man before you whom you wanted to describe.

With reference to sermons, Mr. Bright had not committed himself much: but he thought if preachers did not write, most of them would be worse than they were at present. There was—said Dr. Perfitt—an unreality about sermons. A preacher talked about election and universal depravity, but he added "he doesn't believe it. Look here, you Reverend Jeremy Timkins" (apostrophizing thus an ideal "parson"), "you make us out quite different people inside the Church, and outside, when we are dead and buried;

but we ain't. You make us out all devils inside, and all angels outside. Read the tombstones and contrast the epitaphs with the denunciations of the sermons inside, and you will soon see the difference." Then, again, he said—rambling somewhat from his subject in pursuit of the ideal Timkins—some parsons "dressed up." They said that they must do so to influence vulgar people. "Not a bit of it"—this was a constantly recurring phrase—"not a bit of it. You can elevate the masses without vulgarity. Is Shakspeare vulgar? And yet the gallery understands him quite as well as the stalls." This was a somewhat novel aspect of Ritualism, at all events!

The majority of minds were not logical. Witness the opposite conclusions arrived at by outsiders on the current Tichborne case. Go into a school, and you would see the same unreasoning treatment of boys. A lad would be fagging at Euclid when his mission was the fiddle. Walter Scott himself was considered the biggest fool in his school.

So it came that when pitchforked into livings, one parson bought his sermons; another "larded" them with texts and "dear brethrens." The preacher was commissioned to cheer the hearts and elevate the minds of his congregation. How could a young man, who knew nothing of the battle of life, do this in the case of some grey-haired old man and woman among his listeners? He had never felt cold or hungry; he had never bent him over some beloved dead. He

"instructed" them by talking of personal election and spiritual regeneration, or flinging justification by faith alone at their poor heads; so that all the comment Hodge made to Betty at the close of the sermon was, "Thank God, Betty, it's one o'clock." What a contrast was there in this respect between sermons and books of science. These led one on; and the time would come, he predicted, when parsons would say, "Jesus Christ did not read his sermon on the Mount," and would feel that five words spoken from the heart were better than a thousand "smelling of the oil."

This was something to the point, at all events for a listening "parson" who had preached two sermons to his congregation that very Sunday! Whether we like the doctrine or not, it was beyond doubt that there was some sound common sense in this expansion of Mr. Bright's oracular letter.

Between the "Topic" and the Lecture, Mendelssohn's "Hear my Prayer" was sung by the choir, who formed in a single line a little up stage behind the lecturer's desk. The solo part was taken in excellent style by Miss Fanny Perfitt, the daughter of the doctor, and the whole performance was much above par.

After this Dr. Perfitt commenced the second of a course of lectures on "Greece: its Religion and Heroes," the special subject for the evening being "The Mythology of Greece, its Origin and Meaning."

It had been the fashion at one time, he observed, to depreciate the heathen gods. Paul, it was said, settled all that on Areopagus, when he taught that God was a spirit; but no one had yet defined what a spirit was. How could people believe in the Greek gods? it was asked. Well, it was not so long since we in England believed in ghosts; there might even be some who believed still. Farther back, they believed in broomstick witches, and farther still in giants. Then we came to belief in groups or masses of people like Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table. In Spain and Italy such belief prevailed up to the date of "Don Quixote" being written. Similar matter was found in the lives of the Saints. But still it was urged people could not have believed in the gods of Olympus. To refute this he told the story of St. Peter's appearing to the Westminster fisherman, and promising him the right to all the fish in the Thames. This was quoted as a fact in the Charters of Egbert and Edward the Confessor: and not only so, but as recently as 1468 the rector of Rotherhithe wanted a tithe of fish, and commenced an action in the Court of Queen's Bench, when this original grant of St. Peter was actually put in as a plea. Such too was the story of the difference in weight between a live and dead fish, and in the number of ribs possessed by a woman and a man. There need be no difficulties, then, as to belief in the Greek gods. It was an uncritical age, and different bloods, such as the Indian, Egyptian, and

Persian had to be fused together in that small country. There was a tendency in the childlike mind to believe everything animated. The little girl thoroughly believed that her doll would feel cold and be hurt. Grant that idea to the Greek and you would understand how the ocean was a god, and the zephyr a god, and how Æolus (Dr. Perfitt shocked academical ears by calling him Æōlus) was related to Eros and Nyx. The Greeks were essentially religious. Everything to the Greek was a god. Here followed an elaborate disquisition on the Twelve Greater Gods and the older and more philosophic gods, and I was surprised to find Dr. Perfitt, thoroughly posted up though he was in his subject, adopting the Romanized names, such as Jove and Mercury, instead of Zeus and Hermes. There sat his audience, however, eagerly listening to the fairy tales which he told with remarkable ease and fluency, often soaring into the truest eloquence, and whenever he thought his listeners wanted enlivening, throwing in a dash of racy humour. Scoff as we might, he said, the Greek went close to the heart of nature, and was in the truest sense devotional. There were two full hours of talk, mind, with only short intervals of singing, and all done by one man in a dress coat, without book or note, or any meretricious adjunct to aid him. There could be no doubt he was full of his subject, and that his people were thoroughly sympathetic.

As I passed out I found Dr. Perfitt had "spotted"

me, and was waiting for a few cheery words of chat, though he was muffled up to the eyes and hastening home to nurse a bad cold, which must have made his long discourse very trying to him.

Outside the Hall they were selling that which a timid journal called "the most alarming sheet ever published"—*The Republican Herald.* It is certainly somewhat plain and outspoken, as we may gather from the following which is extracted *verbatim* or rather *literatim* :—

"NOTICE EXTRAORDINARY.

"JOHN BULL AND CO., Plaintiffs.

Victoria.

Action for Breach of Contract—Damages One Million.

"A full report of this Remarkable Trial, about to take place in one of the Superior Courts, will be given in the *Herald.*"

The quarterly list of lectures also embraced the following summary of the objects of the Society of Independent Religious Reformers :—

"First,—To secure the association of such persons as are desirous of cultivating the religious sentiment in a manner which shall be free from the evil spirit of creed, the intolerance of sectarianism, and the leaven of priestcraft; and of such persons as respect the authority of reason, and who reverently accept the decrees of conscience.

"Second,—To discover and methodize truths con-

nected with either the Laws of Nature, the Progress of Thought, or the lives of good men of all ages and countries, so that they may be rendered of practical value as guides to a healthful moral and manly life.

"Third,—To assist, as a religious duty, in the regeneration of Society, by co-operating with every organized body whose aim is to abolish superstition, ignorance, intemperance, political injustice, or any other of the numerous evils which now afflict society.

"The Society proposes to attain its objects by means of co-operating to promote the public delivery of lectures bearing upon science, history, and religious free thought; by means of schools in which the young shall be educated to love God and goodness, to know the inestimable value of truth and freedom, and to fear nothing but vice, serfdom, and dishonour; by means of classes for adults, and by means of publications in the form of journals, essays, and volumes.

"RULES.

"1. That this Society be composed of persons, male and female, who, without signing any creed or articles, shall declare themselves anxious to co-operate for the above-named purposes.

"2. That the business of the Society, or any branch of it, shall be conducted by a president, assisted by a committee of fifteen members, to be elected annually.

"3. That the terms of membership shall be by annual subscriptions of not less than £1, payable quarterly;

and that the committee take such steps as it may deem advisable for collecting over-due subscriptions.

"4. That the committee shall meet every month for the transaction of business, when minutes of the proceedings shall be taken, and, if necessary, reports prepared for the general meeting.

"5. That all questions involving the organization or extension of the Society shall be decided upon at a general meeting of the members, notice of which will be publicly given.

"6. That all persons who have paid quarterly instalments of their annual subscriptions shall be entitled to a vote at such meetings."

A PARSON IN TRANSITION.

An interesting event, illustrative of the extent to which Theism is spreading in the churches, occurred in the delivery of a sermon at Mr. Conway's Chapel, by the Rev. H. F. Revell, of Chertsey, an Independent clergyman, who chose that particular method of announcing his transitional condition. The defection and development of an individual, however able—and Mr. Revell *is* an able man—would be of little importance were not such process to be regarded as a sign of the times; but, as Mr. Conway observed on the previous Sunday, there can be no doubt that Free Thought is leavening many, even of the unlikeliest, religious bodies. In the absence of Mr. Conway, then, who was starring it in the country somewhere, Mr. Revell occupied the platform—we must not say the pulpit—at South Place. The service was much the same as on ordinary occasions, but the congregation decidedly smaller, for people come to South Place now to hear Mr. Conway, just as in former days they came to hear Mr. Fox. I think the singing, however, was even better than on the former occasion, Miss Marie Duval singing the solo soprano part of the anthem very sweetly indeed. This de-

velopment, in the musical arrangements of a Theistic service, is very remarkable; as is also the care displayed in the general adornments of the chapel. If doctrinal Theism is levelling upwards into the churches, Ritualism would seem to have its revenge by levelling downwards into the Theistic societies.

The anthem was Lowell's beautiful poem, commencing, "God is not dumb," and one of the hymns was so striking as to demand quotation:—

Dark the faith of days of yore,
And at evening evermore
Did the chanters, sad and saintly,
Yellow tapers burning faintly,
Doleful masses chant to Thee,
Miserere Domine!

Bright the faith of coming days,
And when dawn the kindling rays
Of heaven's golden lamp ascending,
Happy hearts and voices blending,
Joyful anthems chant to Thee,
Te laudamus, Domine!

Night's sad cadence dies away
On the yellow moonlight sea;
The boatmen rest their oars and say,
Miserere Domine!

Morn's glad chorus swells alway,
On the azure sunlight sea;
The boatmen ply their oars and say,
Te laudamus Domine!
(Altered from COLERIDGE.)

The only variety that Mr. Revell made in the service was the elimination, not only of prayer, but of the "meditation" with which Mr. Conway has replaced that disused element. Instead of this, Mr.

Revell read portions of the 17th and 18th chapters of St. John's Gospel. He had previously read, as his special lesson, parts of Mr. Conway's "Sacred Anthology." He was a scholarly-looking man, of slightly American aspect, with thin face, and what is commonly called a small "goat's" beard. There was no trace of Americanism, however, in his accent. His delivery was forcible, warming at times into real eloquence, but marked throughout—as the nature of his subject seemed to demand—by a vein of strong irony. He was dressed in a long great-coat during the service, of which he divested himself before commencing his address, like an athlete stripping for the arena. Then, without text or introduction of any kind, he announced his subject,—"Speaking with Authority."

The first kind of speaking, he said, that is suggested by the heading, of which there is a very great abundance, and for which authority of a very high order is claimed, is preaching.

Now, on your hearing preaching mentioned, I can quite understand the feeling should be, that it is quite unnecessary to say anything more about so well-worn and tiresome a matter.

To some people it would doubtless be a relief if a clean sweep were made of the whole thing itself, and of all writing and talking about it. Preachers should be persuaded to submit themselves to the process of Euthanasia, a process by which the world is to be rid of a great many troublesome, and weary, and sick

people. And no doubt, as preachers are supposed to be ready, and ought to be ready, to sacrifice themselves for the well-being and comfort of men, they might, if it could be brought home to them that they are very troublesome people, allow themselves to be persuaded by the advocates of Euthanasia, to offer themselves to be operated on, and so quietly and mercifully be put out of the way. Or, if there seems no prospect of this coming to pass just at present, perhaps the next best thing will be, for literature of the better sort utterly to ignore both preachers and preaching.

Most certainly preaching ought not to have the vigorous vitality it seems to have in it to keep itself going, when so many wish it would die out. We often hear that its power is declining, that it has, in fact, hardly any power at all left; and then hopes are again raised that it is going to "get on with its deeing."*

But it revives again, and refuses to die—in short, it is very troublesome. It ought to have allowed itself to be jostled out of the way; but so far from this having come to pass, it holds fast to its place and its work, and seems likely to last on for many days to come.

It would seem then to be our duty, both by speaking and writing, to do what we can to make it as

* The reference is to an anecdote of an old Scotchman in the *Fortnightly* article on "Euthanasia."

tolerable and useful as may be. If it can be brought to contribute to a broader and more generous spiritual life among men, it may again establish its claim to the sympathy of all those who are interested in the spiritual growth of the people.

The pulpit, as it exists among us to-day, may be briefly described as the Institution of the Church for spreading abroad a knowledge of certain Biblical truths, and providing, at the same time, for the varied expression of such truths through the individual utterances of many men. Thus the teaching of one great subject (which branches out into many minor ones) is secured, together with variety of treatment, within certain limits.

The Church requires that her servants accept her definitions and interpretations of Scripture teaching, and preach in harmony therewith. Her position is—"Thus and thus, saith the Scripture; thus and thus you, my servants, must believe and preach unto the people, that they also may thus and thus believe."

Now it will be conceded that it is an allowable and useful thing to do, to preach Moses, and David, and Isaiah, and Paul, and John, and Christ, inasmuch as they have left so much that is available for promoting the spiritual progress of men.

If some men may teach Plato, others may teach Paul and Christ. The Church, for example, has as much reason on its side (to say the least) for diffusing a knowledge of the contents of the Bible as the Early English Societies have for their laudable endeavour to

make Englishmen of to-day acquainted with the earlier treasures of English Literature.

But our Church demands that the Scriptures shall be made known and be believed, because they come to men invested with Divine authority of a specific sort. "You must," says the Church, "preach and believe Isaiah, and David, and Paul, because their writings have the seal of Divine authority stamped upon them as no other writings have." That is to say, you may teach Plato for what he is worth, but you must not teach Paul for what he is worth. There are grand old truths in Sophocles as there are grand old truths in Moses; but the authority which clothes the words of Sophocles is only human, while that which clothes the words of Moses is Divine. Some of the truths look pretty much alike, but that does not matter: there *is* a vast difference between them in point of authority.

The Church must take her stand somewhere, and takes it here on the faith once for all "delivered to the saints." The truth that is to be preached and believed may be decided by Scripture texts.

Whether the Church of to-day, with the history of the development of religious ideas during preceding ages, and up to this time lying open before her eyes, ought to demand of her servants that they shape their beliefs according to the old patterns, is a question which she herself has shelved from time to time. It is inconvenient to entertain such a question, and

so she passes it by. Christianity, she would fain persuade herself, is bound up with the maintenance of her present position. Not only Christianity, but social order, and the everlasting salvation of myriads are bound up with it.

But others have examined the question of Church authority as at present claimed, and decided most positively against it. Her organization admits of but a very poor expression of the religious thought, belief, and feeling of the nation. The expression that it allows and sanctions errs by excess and defect also. It includes what it should exclude, and excludes what it should include. It gives preference to tradition rather than truth, to time-honoured forms rather than sincerity: seems stunted, and unable to adapt itself sufficiently to its fresh surroundings.

If the authority the Church claims were organic in the sense that the authority of the parent over the little child is organic, one might be ready to concede somewhat. But it is not so; the relation is for the most part an artificial one.

If the authority claimed were an authority based on superior competency, men capable of judging would allow it. The claim is not based on competency. The only legitimate authority for calling upon men to preach certain truths, and upon others to accept them, is an authority based upon legitimate methods of research, discovery, and verification.

The Church has not so reached the truths she

publishes abroad. Many of them, indeed, are beyond, for the present at least, the reach of any known legitimate methods of discovery and proof.

This is seen by many outsiders, and hence the authority of the Church is disallowed. Worse than all, it is practically disallowed even by many of her own sons. The *Spectator,* when commenting on Mr. Voysey's defence, said, "there are very many of the Church of England who would not find difficulties in accepting every sentence in the articles in the plain and straightforward meaning of common life, and those few are far from our best." Notwithstanding this indisputable fact she still lays her commands upon her ministers to preach the doctrines prescribed, and contradict nothing set forth in the Thirty-nine Articles. I suppose that because she finds it written in the "Acts of the Apostles"—"The times of this ignorance God winked at," she fancies she may take shelter under such august authority, and innocently wink at a good deal of the naughtiness of her children. Only it will not do to have it thought that she is given to winking; so she now and then makes a stir, and flogs or expels a naughty boy, and then quietly takes to her winking again.

This, then, is the state of things in a Church professing to speak with authority derived from God and Christ. What shall we say respecting it? What shall we do? Shall we say nothing?—and do nothing?

As far as we ourselves are concerned, no doubt our own minds were made up long ago what we should think and what we should do. But this is a matter which so closely touches the spiritual life of our people, that we cannot look on as unconcerned spectators. These churchmen are our countrymen and brothers.

No doubt, after a fashion, the Church believes that she is invested with Divine authority, and believes, also, that it is best for the people's sake to come to them proclaiming a message which is sanctioned by Divine authority. But it is too late in the day to make such a claim as this; a claim as pretentious and invalid as claim can be. This she knows to be the case, in part at least; or, if not, might know. She claims to be "the pillar and ground of the truth," and is mainly the teacher and upholder of theological science, falsely so called. Many of her facts are not facts at all; many of her premises are baseless assumptions; while some of the truths and facts from which she starts are made, by a perverse logic, to yield conclusions which, the moment they are understood, must be instantly rejected.

The Church should have an intellectual conscience, as well as a creed. The legal obligation is not for her the full measure of the moral obligation. Just as a man who professes to proclaim the truth, is bound to see that that which he preaches is the truth as far as he can find it, so also is the Church bound to search for

and declare the truth. The Church has a duty to perform over and above that of seeing that her servants render compliance with Church regulations. There is no sufficient sanction to warrant a Church in demanding, nor a man in giving, a promise to supply such preaching as is against knowledge, ascertained fact, and Christian morality; neither personal conveniences nor Biblical theories, nor Church exigences, ought to be allowed to interfere more than can be helped with truth and honesty.

Creeds, articles, prayers, remain the same to-day as they were three centuries ago. The Church does not acknowledge progress or change in religious thinking and believing. The standards of the Church furnish no indication, contain no record, of alteration having taken place. The change ought to be recognised.

Why of all records of thought and belief those which should most nearly correspond therewith should be farthest from doing so, it is hard, indeed, to say. Grant that a Church cannot conveniently be for ever reconsidering her creeds, still, looking at the fact that the results of Biblical criticism, scientific discoveries, and the intellectual and spiritual perceptions of the time tell strongly against some other fundamental positions, she cannot, without forswearing her claim to be the pillar and ground of the truth, refuse to change what needs to be changed, or wipe out what can no longer be justified.

But as yet we see no sign that this will be done.

She is still in the old place, and in the old chair on the shore, bidding the tide flow in no further. But still the tide comes in. To on-lookers it is plain that she must move back, or that she will be swept away. Is it too good a thing to hope that she will move back, or as some might prefer to put it, not move back, and so acknowledge that the tide is coming in.

Certainly she will not avert her fate, if she remain where she is, by quoting, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against me." She is in a false position, and cannot remain there. She must be true to knowledge, to her conscience, and to righteousness. This is her primary duty. She must confess her mistakes, as well as sit to receive confession of other peoples'. The people have no claim upon her for what is not true, though they may have been so educated that their religious tastes are corrupt. Let her say boldly, "I will serve the people as far as in me lies, only it must not be at the expense of truth, conscientious conviction, and verifiable knowledge, or in defiance of ripest spiritual culture and intelligence." Then, but not till then, will she be listened to as one speaking with authority, because having had—

> "Meted out to her,
> So much of judging faculty, no more;
> She has been found not slack in use thereof."

But hitherto she has been slack in use of judging faculties.

But some of her sons, although she tries to keep a

tight hand on them, and has confined them in a very small close room, have broken away from her, and managed to take a peep out of the window. Once, perhaps, they fancied that the creed or church window was large enough to let in all the light that was ever likely to come from God to men, and that the little bit of earth and sky they caught sight of through it was the whole of the glorious world outside that mortals ought to see. But when they came to put their heads out of the window, and look around and above, they saw, as it were, a new heaven and a new earth. And it is not possible, or ought not to be possible, for such men to go on any longer talking about heaven and earth, as if that little bit they used to see through the window were all that was to be seen. And why should they? Why should their report of what they have seen be made into a caricature to suit the Church view of matters? If such a man go into the world as the Church would have him go he finds himself as in a strange land, when he ought to feel more at home. If he would see aright and judge aright he must throw away the eyeglasses the Church has supplied him with, and he would see things as they are, and speak of them as he finds them.

I do not see how any sincere, earnest, honest, truth-loving man can hold his peace. He will be eager to tell what he sees and hears, nor will he use misleading words. No doubt the ear hears what it brings with it of the power of hearing, but the duller the ear the

greater the need of plain speech. To make himself understood he will state the truth boldly and nakedly, avoiding all trimming and mincing of words.

Fearfulness leads to confusion of speech, and, conscious of having reached by legitimate methods what he has to deliver, he will speak courageously and honestly; and who shall dare to make him afraid? His Church, forsooth? She may have power to silence him; but of moral, legitimate authority not a jot or tittle. I do not plead for the flippant speech of the man who delights to shock popular beliefs or set at naught an authority to which he subjected himself; but for the thoughtful, tender, reverent, truthful, and courageous utterance of the man whose teaching shall be according to knowledge, truth, and fact, and according also to strictest morality. The demand, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience," is not necessarily legitimate or to be granted as it stands. Before I can fairly make such a demand I must have a conscience to know, to utter, and to argue according to truth, according to verified fact, according to legitimate methods of research and proof, and according to righteousness. Then, but not till then, can I legitimately demand the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience.

When the demand is so made no Church can legitimately resist it, without repudiating its own claim to be the pillar and ground of the truth, although perhaps

to grant it would be to imperil its own existence in the form in which we find it to-day.

But there is no need whatever that speaking with authority should be thought or spoken of only in connexion with the Church and her preachers. Those who acknowledge no existing Churches, and are outside all Churches, may speak without authority, and with authority. It is too much to affirm that all such speaking is with authority; that all the "free-thinking and plain speaking" of the day can be legitimately defended.

In the eyes, perhaps, of the great majority of people it is not to be doubted that it is regarded as being without authority, and also as deserving of censure from the divinely constituted ecclesiastical authorities of the day.

We must not be misled into thinking that the whole fabric of Church authority is soon to fall. A very large majority of religious or church-going people honestly, though blindly, acknowledge it. Thousands will continue to pay it at least feigned submission—thousands more cling to it as their only refuge from despair or scepticism. There are those also who will acknowledge it in the presence of the multitude, that the multitude may be kept in subjection to it. By many busy men theologians will still continue to be regarded as experts in theological and religious matters, pretty much in the same way as the members of the other professions are regarded as experts in

their own special line; and I think many individuals who are disposed to break with religious and ecclesiastical authority, or who may already have done so, would unite to acknowledge it in the presence of a common foe.

It is also seen that we cannot start afresh and begin at the beginning, and that the Divine Right theory has in days gone by simplified matters wonderfully, and made government possible, when otherwise it would have been impossible, and that in so doing it secured a start and some progress. Some few among us seem to think that it has work to do yet. Here and there we discern a hankering after a sort of despotic form of government. Mr. Stephen's book on "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" is in some respects a sign of the times. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, too, often manifests the similar craving after governmental exhibitions of brute force.

The advocates of liberty, of free-thinking, and plain speaking are not blind to all these things. The claim they make is of the sort I spoke of a little while ago, not simply the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, but the claim to do so only where there is the conscience to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to truth, according to legitimate methods of research and proof, according to verified fact, and according to righteousness, otherwise the claim is not valid, and they cannot speak with authority.

We are breaking with the authority of the Churches because they cannot justify their authority, while at the same time we are assigning authority to science because of its method and results. We are trusting our men of science because we trust their method of research and verification.

Human judgment is no doubt fallible all round, since some things are true and some things are false—while some are unknown, though perhaps to be known in the future; while possibly some are not only unknown, but unknowable. It is plain, therefore, that some of these properly fall within the scope of legitimate teaching, and that some are beyond it.

Truth is of "no private interpretation," and knows no favourites—is within the reach of all competent men. If you, being competent, can find it, I, being competent, can find it also. It belongs to neither Church, nor nation, nor class—past or present.

The orthodox tells us that there is only one way of salvation for all. However that may be, it is undeniable that there is only one way of truth for all—whether orthodox or heterodox. To find it and walk therein, it is not enough for any man simply to break with ancient authority. Old fetters may be exchanged for new, but they are none the less fetters because new.

The way of truth is the way of scientific research and verification. It is of the utmost importance that we recognise this fact. Not till this is done will the

chaos of modern thought be reduced to order. Not till then will there emerge into view an authority to confront and overthrow the authority to which men have so long submitted. Even though this method be incomplete, and therefore not final, it seems to me to be the one we must follow at present. We shall thus get rid of the necessity of going over the same ground time after time, to make sure of our results. True, we are to keep an open mind. But this method of science is the one to be followed: the only one that has authority for us to-day. In using it we may see our way to make it more complete, and render it competent to deal with facts which are not thought to come within its scope. For the present we may be in doubt whether it is applicable to all things whatsoever. Be it so: this is only another way of saying that there are some things respecting which we must for the present rest in doubt, and that some things must wait till they can be shown to be true. Self-evident facts are of course evidently true without further proof. Opinion differs greatly as to the number of these self-evident truths. Many at least are not self-evident. Take the grandest truth of all, "the being and all-perfectness of God." There is no direct consciousness of Him: no intuition. Father Dalgairns, in his paper on the question, "Is God unknowable?" which appeared in the *Contemporary* some little time ago, said that we experience God: experience Him in the pangs of sin. We

may deny Him, and lo! He stabs us for our wrong.

What we in reality experience is sorrow for sin. That God sends or causes the sorrow is an inference, and to be judged as such.

The test of the individual reason is not satisfactory as a test of objective truth. It is not in itself a perfectly safe guide in every case. Certainly it needs to see in what way it must go, if it would attain to truth. The being and all-perfectness of God would be allowed to be consonant with the highest human reason. Is that sufficient for going forth to announce it as an indisputable truth unto the world? It may be a more or less valid ground for hoping or believing that He is, and that He is all-perfect; but to proclaim it with authority, for doing that we have no sufficient warrant.

The same thing holds of many other rational things. Coleridge, as you know, undertook to show, in his "Aids to Reflection," that the Christian faith is the perfection of human intelligence. Dr. Newman, too, defends the Infallibility of the Church as the Interpreter of Scripture, on the ground of the reasonableness of God's appointing an Infallible Interpreter of His own Word. It has often seemed to me that this setting up of reason borders closely upon the old philosophical notion of *à priori* methods of truth. If not quite the same sort of thing, it borders closely upon it. To it are to be traced numberless errors, of all sorts.

The appeal must be to facts, of whatever order.

Pretty much the same thing is to be said of the doctrine of "the right of private judgment," as that which has been said of making our reason a test of truth. The correspondent of the *Inquirer*, in a late number of that paper, says that "Unitarianism" is a method of inquiry based upon the principle of "the right of private judgment." That which most disturbs our generation is not a question affecting "the right of private judgment" so much as a question respecting its validity. It is important to demand and obtain the liberty to act upon the right. But private judgment needs to be guided by general scientific method. The judgment must be exercised according to rules that lead to the discovery of truth. The right of private judgment has for its correlative the duty of finding rightly. If this duty be avoided speaking with authority is out of the question.

Claim the right if you please, but above all neglect not the duty. I was going to say that I would gladly give up the liberty of private judgment, if even by compulsion I could be made more readily to arrive at truth. Because it seems to me that truth is for so short a life as ours a better thing than freedom to judge as one pleases. And, after all, private judgment may lead us to very little, unless we happen to have a mind that will conduct us to truth. What we want to hear is a voice we can trust, saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it."

Nothing is more urgently needed than a common or universally applicable criterion of truth. It is certainly worth our while to try what the application to all subjects of thought and experience of the scientific method will yield us.

I do not imagine that the results will be perfectly satisfactory. But at least if the method be proved imperfect, we may from that very fact come to discern a better way.

Satisfaction, with results so obtained, is hardly possible; we should find ourselves craving for much beside,—perhaps legitimately craving for much beside. It is a wide world and a very complex, and that method that can deal with the whole of it perfectly must be wonderfully comprehensive and complete. The results we reach may be indisputable, but we yearn for many other things to be true also. Much will for a long time to come remain possible to spiritual feeling, that scientific methods will not allow or positively sanction. For example, though by such methods we cannot reach up unto God; though also, examination of certain facts seems to make against His existence and perfection; yet, in presence of all that is antagonistic, spiritual feeling affirms the possibility of His existence and perfection.

But of course we are forbidden to make the simply conceivable into the actual, just as we cannot legitimately raise the inconceivable into the objectively impossible.

Though then for the present we seem under the necessity of abiding by logical and scientific method, yet we may not forget that man is something more than a machine for making inferences. The logical faculty, or if you prefer it the intellect, is not the whole of man. When we have detached the intellect, as it were, for processes of its own, we must make the synthesis of the whole man again. The truth is that there is much in man beside intellect with which we hardly know how to deal yet. But to give intellect predominance over emotion, or intuition, may be legitimately objected to, quite as much as assigning to emotion preponderating authority. The logic of spiritual science waits to have done for it what has been accomplished for the logic of the inductive and deductive methods of investigation and discovery.

For example, is there no truth contained in the hymns of your hymn book but what scientific method can deal with satisfactorily just at present? And when our spirits enter into sympathy with the sentiments of many of the songs, are they dealing with fiction only, that is, with sentiments that have no corresponding realities outside the spirit of him who feels sympathy kindled within him?

We must beware while we follow scientific methods of stultifying our spiritual sympathies for the sake of what may turn out to be after all only an imperfect method. George Henry Lewes, in his last book, says

"The internecine war which has so long disturbed religion and obstructed science, will give place to a doctrine which will respect the claims of both and satisfy the needs of both. This future may be undetermined, but it will come. The ground will be contested inch by inch. The pathway of progress will still, as of old, bear traces of martyrdom; but the advance is inevitable. The signs of the advent are not few. Looking at them with closeness one observes that science itself is also in travail. Assuredly some new mighty birth is at hand. Solid as the ground appears, and fixed as are our present landmarks, we cannot but feel the strange tremors of subterranean agitation which must ere long be followed by upheavals disturbing the landmarks. ('Problems of Life and Mind,' p. 4.) The authority of the ancient creeds is gone: the authority of the new Doctrine is in process of foundation: to complete it scientific method must be followed, but followed in the conviction that it is but leading to the discovery of the more perfect way."

HUMANITARIANISM.

"WHAT!" I fancy I hear my readers exclaim, "yet another ism!" It was the fact of that additional ism, and the circumstance that I myself strongly hold the maxim, "Homo sum, nihil humanum a me alienum puto," which led me forth one Sunday morning to Penton Street, Islington, where, I had been informed, a Humanitarian Lecturer, one Mr. Povey, was to hold forth on the subject of Socrates, at the Claremont Hall. Pentonville Hill on a Sunday morning is greatly *sui generis*. Flocks of people pass and repass to the multitudinous churches and chapels of Islington, and early bakings monopolize the attention of many of those who do not worship. Besides such there is always a large number of folks everywhere on Sunday going, like Gehazi, "nowhither," and among these, in the exercise of my recent Christian liberty, I passed leisurely along smoking my cigar on the Sunday morning I had resolved to devote to Humanitarianism.

Punctuality, as I had already proved on a previous Sunday, when I went to hear Mr. Povey lecture on Spinoza, is not among the cardinal virtues of the Humanitarians. Long after eleven o'clock, when I

had in vain sought to pay my threepence at Claremont Hall, and found nobody to take it, I adjourned to a stationer's shop opposite, in full trade that Sunday morning, and under pretence of buying a threepenny notebook, asked the communicative proprietress about the Humanitarians. She knew very little, save that they were newcomers; and while I was talking to her a young man entered Claremont Hall with an air of authority. I flew at him and questioned him; but found he had only come to light the fire. Then a dejected boy took up his station, arranging and rearranging some large posters about the lecture, but it was full half-past eleven before the presiding genius, Mr. Kaspary, and the lecturer, Mr. Povey, put in an appearance. A bright-eyed little pianiste came a few minutes earlier; for, ecclesiastical prodigals as we were, there was to be "music," though not "dancing" for us.

There was not a symptom of an audience, either now or when the lecture commenced; at least there were only myself, the lecturer's daughter, Mr. Kaspary, and the dejected boy, who had a bad cough. The bright-eyed pianiste played a nice solo, and then the lecturer read the fifteen rules or doctrines of the Humanitarians, which are appended below. Then another solo, and the lecture commenced. The lecturer was an elderly scholarly-looking man, and I really regretted that he had no audience, as I did also that the young man who attended to the fire had not

been more successful in his department; for it went out at an early stage of the proceedings, and the cold was Arctic.

Man, said the lecturer, is all related, and every one is an actor of a principal or a subordinate part in the drama of the world: whichever part he plays he is so conjoined with his fellow players that his character cannot be understood without naming and explaining the *dramatis personæ* (actors of the play in which he has acted) :—

> "All the world's a stage,
> And all the men and women merely players,
> And one man in his time plays many parts."

When the scenes, too, are described, through which the chief comedian or tragedian has passed, we possess nearly all the means possible of remembering his history, of divining his motives, of seeing his errors, of witnessing his virtues, and deriving excitement to imitate his excellences, or warning to avoid his errors, his faults, or his crimes.

Sophroniscus, a sculptor, and Phœnarete, the midwife, were respectively the father and mother of Socrates, the hero of our discourse.

Crito was a wealthy noble whose service to Socrates was very important.

Euripides, the tragic author, was a most intimate friend of Socrates.

Aristophanes, the comic dramatist, had much to do with his portrait as it has descended to us.

Protagoras is a philosopher who prophesied the future eminence of Socrates.

Zopyrus, a physiognomist.

Plato, a disciple of Socrates.

Xenophon, historian of Greece and Persia, also a disciple.

Aspasia, a handsome, learned woman, professor, a general lover.

Phidias, the most eminent sculptor of Greece.

Alcibiades, a young nobleman and also a disciple of Socrates.

Anytus and Melitus, his accusers of crime.

Laches, a companion of Socrates in the wars.

Xantippe, wife of Socrates.

Connus and Damon, teachers of music.

Zeno of Elea, the philosopher.

Scopas of Cranon.

Eurylochus of Larissa, and Archelaus of Macedonia, Sovereign Princes.

Τὸ δαιμόνιον, the familiar spirit of Socrates.

The Pythia, a priestess of Apollo at Delos.

Grooms, farriers, slaves, salesmen in the Agora or market, cattle-drivers, &c.

Our first scene, though partly imaginary, must be necessarily true. In the humble home at Athens, with workshops attached, alternately lived the young Socrates, and received instructions in due time (in addition to that which was purely elementary) in the art of sculpture, by which it was intended he should

gain his living. He must have been a strange, eccentric boy, for we find that his father consulted the priestess of Apollo at Delphi as to what teachers he should procure for his son. The answer of the Oracle was that if he were left to his own bent he would teach himself. It would be better than a thousand masters.

The period in the history of Greece in which he flourished was from about 469 to 400 B.C., so that when Greece was resting he passed a long life within one year of the three score and ten to which so few arrive.

He was of a very inquisitive turn of mind, and, although he makes use of all means within his reach, yet he depends chiefly on himself for answers to the great problems that are suggested to his mind from time to time. We may suppose that he learnt the art of sculpture well, since for a time he had to earn his living by it, and there is a tradition that a fine group of the Graces was executed by him and publicly exhibited. But how was it that he had leisure to pursue study, and live the free and unconstrained life that he did?

Crito, the wealthy noble, stepped forward, and afforded him the means of living, and removed him from the workshop. He went about here and there in Athens, constantly inquiring, and by this means gained an immense deal of knowledge of men and things. Protagoras said that he would become great in philosophy.

Now, the period in which he flourished was one in which multitudes of self-styled philosophers existed, as well as real ones. In the world of poetry there were Sophocles and Aristophanes, and Phidias in sculpture.

Among the friends of Socrates was the poet Euripides, so noted for the moral sentences in all his plays, and which may have been suggested by Socrates, as the style of Socrates may have been poetized by Euripides. Fancy the two friends working together for one common end—the one to make men happier and better by mingling morality with fable, and the other by direct and plain instructions.

Now Euripides persuaded Socrates to study the writings of Heraclitus, who prided himself on his depth and obscurity.

> "Begone, ye blockheads, Heraclitus cries,
> And leave my labours to the learn'd and wise."

Euripides asked Socrates how he liked them. His answer is beautiful. "What I understand is excellent, and I have no doubt that what I don't understand is equally excellent." He learned dialectic or the art of disputation from Zeno of Elea, and some geometry from Theodorus of Cyrene. He made use of all knowledge for the purpose of illustrating the chief topic on which he spoke.

Prodicus was the fashionable teacher of rhetoric, and from him he is said to have had instruction.

Socrates was frequently at the house of Aspasia, the celebrated courtezan, beloved by Pericles and Plato, but also a teacher of eminence. He is also said to have studied music under Connus and Damon; he is also stated to have played on the lyre. His knowledge of music he used only, as many other parts of knowledge, for the illustration of his ideas.

"He now conversed with every man at his own home, submitted to be familiarly approached and reviewed without reserve, and instead of waiting to be consulted by his votaries only, volunteered to mingle in the business, interests, and pleasures of everyday life."

He declared himself a citizen of the world. The stranger, the mechanic, the slave was enlightened by his wisdom, improved by his advice, and consoled by his humanity.

According to Plato, he admitted the transmigration of the soul, that it had been possessed of unbounded knowledge in a pre-existing state, and that it would exist for ever hereafter.

The scene in which all these conversations took place was chiefly the Agora or market-place at Athens. Here he conversed and argued till he convinced the salesmen and the cattle-drivers that their own welfare was inextricably bound up in that of their country, and that to suffer an injury was nothing to stain the soul, but to inflict an injury was.

Socrates did not countenance war, but yet he served his country two or three times as a patriotic soldier. In the Chersonese, at Potidæa, while others were clothing themselves with additional garments, he was observed in his usual dress walking barefoot on the ice with more ease than others with their shoes. Socrates rescued his friend Alcibiades from death. Laertes, the historian, says that at the battle of Delium Socrates also saved Xenophon. Socrates escaped from Delium in company with Laches and Alcibiades, and thus saved his friends as well as himself by his sagacity.

On his return to Athens he continued his avocation as a "cross-questioner of men." His grand idea was to remove from the minds of the Sophists and their disciples the false impression they had of their own knowledge. With every one of this kind he so questioned and obtained admissions, that the questioned person ended by confessing that he knew nothing of that which at the beginning he professed to know everything.

He hereby created many enemies. He is at last accused by Melitus and Anytus, men in power, of corrupting the youth of Athens, and introducing other new deities.

The Apology of Socrates by Plato, is the work which gives us the best idea of Socrates in his grandest aspect, the preference of death to the violation of what he held to be right. He says to the judge, "Though

I love and reverence you, I shall obey God rather than you. If you kill me you will not hurt me so much as you will hurt yourselves. I compare the public to a great sleepy horse that wants a gadfly to stir it up. When I am gone it will go to sleep, till somewhat stir it up again. If we think death an evil we are in error, it is only the way to another life. No evil can happen to a good man in life or death."

You all know the story of his death. Socrates said that he had a familiar spirit that always prevented him from going anywhere or doing anything that would be hurtful. Plutarch wrote a treatise, "De Genio Socratis," Apuleius de Deo Socratis. Xenophon and others said that this spirit both enjoined and forbade things. The Greek is δαιμονιον (a little deity), not Θεὸς, a God, or Δαιμων, a demon or spirit. It always gave him counsel (γνωμη), and advised him chiefly in small matters. It gave him a sign (σημειον) in small things.

One of the writers on this has said that the Gods work on the principle of association in the mind, and that not to act without internal advice was so a habit that his quick exercise of judgment became a sense by practice. He taught by this deference to conscience that intellectual culture without moral practice is a wildfire, and that conscience is the voice of God. The grand lesson to be drawn from this is the power

of practice. By this perceptions become so vivid that they enlist the passions on their side, and overbear all the solicitations of external temptation.

Earnestness.

"Ernst ist das Leben," "Earnestness is life," says Schiller, and in this utterance he represents the character of the German nation, which is peculiarly distinguished by earnestness. What then is this earnestness which is said to be life? When a man is said to be in earnest, or earnestly bent on the doing of a thing, it is understood that he fully means it, and that if his design has been stated in words, that the statement is perfectly sincere.

The first element then at which we arrive by our analysis is the quality of sincerity. Now, to understand this we must contrast it with deceitfulness, of which it is the exact opposite. But why should any one practice deceitfulness, and avoid the practice of sincerity? clearly because he thinks that this course will promote his interest of some kind or other. Usually it will only promote his present momentary interest, such as the gratification of the love of gain, or even some lust, or appetite. Now, as the gratification of passion or appetite without the approbation of the higher faculties of the mind, reason, or conscience, does not promote a man's general, higher, or permanent interests, but only his lower, narrower, and transitory interest, his deceitfulness is a mistake, and

must be found to be an error. So that deceit and insincerity are errors, and the quality of sincerity, which is the opposite of this, is truth, and one of the true ways of promoting one's highest and ever-enduring interest. Deceit is soon discovered, and its perpetrator branded and avoided. There is a sinister look in the deceitful one's face, for nature is not slow to impress on the countenance outward marks of the quality of the mind or spirit that actuates the body. On the countenance of the sincere man or woman, on the contrary, equally indubitable marks of straightforwardness and directness of purpose are imprinted: the eyes look straightforward; in the deceitful the looks are askance and furtive. The sincere man or woman, by dint of always acting with an individual mind, acts with greater force because those doubts are absent which will suddenly beset the deceiver and weaken his resolution. If we analyse still farther the quality of earnestness we still find that an earnest man or woman always actually performs the action intended. How comes this to pass? By resolution, force, energy. So that you see this same earnestness of character is a very complex thing, consisting of many various elements harmoniously combined. For what is the will? And what is a strong will and a feeble will? How is strength of will produced? This is something like the process: Some object strikes the senses and creates a strong desire for possession. In the brute or brute-like man right and wrong are broken through, and

possession is gained, which is followed by all the evil consequences which such a course produces. But in a man governed by reason and conscience its approval by conscience is first sought, and then the force of reason, added to the animal force, makes the will almost irresistible. But strength of will is created in another way. Some position in life, or some lofty character, has come under the attention of the mind. The searching faculty has inquired into all the elements that make up this position or character; then the imagination catches up the mighty theme, combines all the elements into one grand picture, which acts on the senses with almost the force of sensible objects: strong desire is excited, and the will is concentrated on the possession of this one position or character, as it may be. Then the inventive power sets to work to lay out in order all the means by which it may be obtained, and also all the frowning difficulties, all the lions in the way, that may possibly oppose. Then the means are devised for the conquest even of them. The mind being forewarned is forearmed, and the practical powers march like some victorious Marlborough to continual victory. That earnestness, then, which is life, is composed of sincerity, as opposed to insincerity, and of concentrated, as opposed to scattered, powers of volition. The man first knows what he is going to do, and then he gathers up all his forces, and does it with all his might. There is one other element in the earnestness

which is life, and that is an attention to little things, especially the avoiding of small neglects. A rat-hole in a dyke in Holland, in time enlarged, may let in the water that shall devastate a tract of land. But small acts of neglect are never felt in their consequences till long after. So an earnest character is formed by exercising a strong will in small matters, and summoning up energy for that which is an apparent trifle, on which trifle so much may depend. No single action is much by itself, but repeated acts of the same kind form habits, and habits accumulated form character. Thus by knowledge, sincerity, energy, and repetition, or perseverance, is formed that earnestness which is life.

And now what remains but to see how we may apply this to the amelioration of our characters? The first thing is to be earnest in the pursuit of knowledge; yet true earnestness does not consist in accumulating knowledge without putting it to use, but in a quite contrary thing—in first gaining a little knowledge, then using it, then more knowledge, and so on till the end; even as the gradual taking of food creates digestive strength, which enables the body to profit more and more by that which is supplied. Besides, this is the true economy of knowledge. There is but one condition coupled with the gaining of knowledge, and that is its use. If a man practises what he knows, good—he shall gain more knowledge; if not, even what he has shall perish. The exercise of an organ of the

body is its stimulus to perfection, so the reducing of our knowledge is the way to attain wisdom.

Let us be earnest in the communication of knowledge, and that will require earnest practice of composition, both written and oral, without the possession of which our knowledge will not obtain a favourable entrance into the minds of those whom we wish to benefit. What was it rendered Socrates the wisest of the Greeks? It was this: he was ever in the pursuit of knowledge, ever in the communication of it, ever in the practice of it; and this combination is wisdom.

Let us be earnest in performing all the ordinary business of our lives, as well as that extra business which every one ought to undertake as a citizen of the world or member of the great family of humanity. Let us be earnest in everything we do, that we may feel the exquisite pleasure that arises from the heart-and-soul style of doing things and of taking pleasure. Let us be always pleased with what we are doing. When we are sincerely pleased we are nourished. If we walk or run, let it be in such a mode that a glow will pervade our whole frames from the circulated stream of life. If we think, let it be with the full force of our minds, and then we shall feel the life of the mind. Life alone avails not the having lived. We only feel our existence when we are in earnest action. "Virtus in actione sola consistit." When we love or hate (the latter only principles, not persons) let it be with earnestness. Thus in thought, and feel-

ing, and act, earnestness is life. Newton's earnestness was intellectual life, the benevolence of Jesus and Howard was emotional life, and the activity of Napoleon and Marlborough was physical life; but whoever combines the three, and is earnest in all things, will find the truth of Schiller's saying, "Earnestness is life."

I failed to gather much of the distinctive character of Humanitarianism either from the lecture itself or from the fifteen rules that preceded it. These were as follows:—

"FIFTEEN DOCTRINES OF THE RELIGION OF GOD.

"1. The only God is eternal and indivisible.

"2. The human soul is eternal, both past and future.

"3. All finite parts of the unbounded universe are eternal.

"4. The earth is the only and eternal abode of the human soul.

"5. The soul feels neither pleasure nor pain without a body.

"6. Every infant has pre-existence, or is a person risen from the dead.

"7. Every person or human soul is immortal, or will be born again as an infant.

"8. The male and female sex have equal intellectual, moral, social, and political rights and duties, since men and women are alike responsible to God and humanity for their thoughts, desires, and actions.

"9. Sins are black spots in the human soul, but merits are the sparkling diamonds in her. The black spots in the soul can be washed away only by the water of repentance, and the purifier of direct or indirect restitution; but the sparkling diamonds can be implanted in the soul only by the instruments of wisdom and goodness.

"10. All persons are inevitably rewarded for their good thoughts, desires, and actions, but unavoidably punished for their evil ones.

"11. God does not interfere capriciously in the actions of mankind, but the human soul is capable of having the will and the power to desire and carry out possibilities. Human beings are, therefore, responsible to God and to their own race for their actions.

"12. God is the universal Providence, but mankind are their own special providence. To beg of God and to rely on His interference is severely punished by Him; but the knowledge and implicit faith that those who work, and perseveringly and gratefully employ the infinite and divine gifts that are in existence, will meet with success in due time, is richly rewarded by God.

"13. The government by the best and wisest, chosen by the majority of Humanitarians, and the co-operation of all healthy Humanitarians, constitute the only political form of government and social state advocated and sanctioned by the 'Religion of God.'

"14. All true science, philosophy, and morals are derived from God, and are the only true 'Religion of

God' which will be the real 'Saviour' of the whole human race; but all the present false religions are priestcraft, or falsehood mingled with truth, which have been, are, and will be the chief cause of all the misery with which mankind has been, is, and will be afflicted.

"15. Persons can only live happily after death by the use of the present life for the creation of good desires and great talents in themselves, and for the improvement of external circumstances, so as to make real heavens in themselves and a real paradise upon earth, which latter is the only true and eternal abode of all human souls belonging to this globe."

Nor if the articles failed me, did I gain much by falling back on the simple formulary—

"THE PRAYER OF HUMANITARIANS.

"All merciful God! in whom all beings are, accept our sincere thanks for Thy goodness. Thou hast given all to all, and we acknowledge that but for the ignorance, wickedness, and indifference of many erring brothers and sisters, all mankind would live in a real paradise.

"Accept our vows to love our own soul by enlightening her, to love our own body by living virtuously, so as to render our present life long and happy.

"We therefore vow to love each and all members of the human family as ourselves, by setting them a good example, by assisting them in their bodily

sufferings, and by enlightening their minds, so as to render them as happy as ourselves, since this alone is the true preparation for our own progressive bliss after death.

"To fulfil our vows we solemnly promise to God and to humanity to perform the twelve principal duties, and to keep the constitution of Humanitarians, and to try with all our might to promote the spread of the 'Religion of God.'"

I had a longish conversation with Mr. Kaspary, which I could have heard better if the energetic young pianiste had not played her pretty fantasias so *forte*, and found that really Humanitarianism was simply Pantheism with Transmigration very prominently in front. He quite assumed the seer, and said he had got to "know" the truth of what he taught. I mildly tried to substitute "strong conviction" or "reasonable presumption" for knowledge, but it was no use. "'Twas throwing words away," as the poet says of the pertinacious little girl; so with this thoroughly earnest German Jew. He had elaborated Humanitarianism, and not all the cold of the Claremont Hall or the neglect of the Pentonville people could keep him and his father-in-law (for such was the lecturer) quiet. To them I felt sure Schiller's words *did* apply: their earnestness *was* their life!

According to the pamphlet which my good friend gave me, the profession and practice of Humanitarian

principles would at once bring about something more than the Millennium. I confess I could not—and cannot—quite see how the recognition of metempsychosis could produce these most desirable effects; and I rather fancy I had heard the same idea promulgated with regard to one or two other religions into which it had been my lot to examine. But Humanitarianism was peculiarly prolific in promise :—

"The 'Religion of God,' as the true religion, will provide that every one may enjoy true liberty, but will prevent any one from becoming a tyrant. It will give the power to do good to each and all, but will prevent any one from doing evil. It will provide a comfortable house, the best suitable clothing, and wholesome food, for each and all. It will give a real education to every child, and will make men more manly and women more virtuous, loving, beautiful, charming, and ladylike. It will make good husbands and wives, good parents and children, good brothers and sisters, good republican citizens, and truly great republican leaders, since every healthy, grown-up Humanitarian will be voluntarily a useful member of society."

I cull one or two passages from this manual which seem to bear on the metempsychosis question; but I am free to confess they leave me far from clear :—

"Death is, therefore, nothing else than a temporary sleep of complete unconsciousness and forgetfulness, from which the soul passes on, by the power of God,

to the stage of dreams, until she gradually awakes to find herself provided with new means, or material organs; yet with the same desires and talents as acquired and possessed in the preceding life, and which in conjunction with external circumstances insure unerringly her reward and punishment for the good and evil thoughts, desires, and deeds practised by means of her own former human body, since the laws of God reward all that is good and punish all that is evil, without respect of time and person."

* * * * *

"There cannot be more perfect rewards and retribution for the human soul than those resulting from inherent desires and talents, outward circumstances, the loss of recollection at death, and the successive union with her organized human bodies and her severance from them.

"The human soul can neither produce life without successive births, nor entirely lose her recollection, and be born again without successive deaths, nor progress in wisdom, love and happiness, so as to convert her evil nature into a good one, without her successive losses of the old bodies and of recollection, and the successive acquisition of her newly-organized bodies.

"The loss of recollection, the existence of inherent desires and talents, called genius in man and instinct in animals, the successive births, lives, and deaths, not only insure the progress of the wise and good,

but also the gradual conversion of the foolish and the wicked, so that all human souls are becoming less and less miserable, and growing more and more happy.

"Real human bliss is, therefore, progressing, and real human misery is slowly receding, but neither the fool's paradise nor the lake of fire and brimstone has any real existence."

* * * * *

Among the contemplated arrangements for the world-wide spread of Humanitarianism is a complicated series of offices—and I am puzzled to guess how long it would be before they would be filled out of the present slender numbers. First among the "Constitutions" stands the following:—

"I. The Sacred Language.

"The first of the writer's discoveries with which it pleased God to benefit mankind being made in England on Sunday, June 17th, 1866, and the 'Religion of God' being written and first taught in the English language, the author, who is a native of Germany, considering himself nothing more than the chosen instrument of God (as every one ought to be), or the real servant of the human family whom he wishes to unite in one great and happy family, in spite of distance, and the present different classes, languages, colours, and religions, considers himself bound to declare English as the universal and sacred

language of all Humanitarians, and therefore in time of all mankind. Without one common language there can never be peace and a real fraternity amongst mankind, and as English is the language most spoken in the world, and the Anglo-Saxons have been, are, and will be the pioneers of morality, liberty, and social happiness, the Humanitarians of all nations in the world will follow the example of the German author, and accept the English language, not as chosen by a man, but by Providence, to become universal.

"All important books written in the dead languages only, and all important books which have been or will be written in any other spoken language, shall be translated into English. The dead languages will not be taught as hitherto, but in every school, whether in Europe, Asia, Africa, America, or Australia, English shall be taught besides the native language, so that all Humanitarians, whether born and educated in France, Germany, Russia, Spain, China, or Egypt, will be able to fraternize with each other, especially as distance will be reduced still more by the discoveries of scientific men or the teachers of the 'Religion of God.'

"These teachers of Humanitarians in all nations, must therefore speak English fluently, besides their native language; but they have no need to know or to teach any of the dead languages, which are nearly useless, and make the majority of pupils disgusted

with learning, and waste time, which would be much better employed in teaching a language universally spoken, and common sense by means of history, literature, practical science, and philosophy.

"However, divine service shall be conducted in the native language of the respective country until all are educated as Humanitarians, understand the sacred language well, and speak it fluently. The universal language will be one of the chief keys to open the doors of the material and intellectual progress for all the people."

But—I suppose it is heterodox to say, as one might have expected—it is in the matter of matrimony that Humanitarianism, eccentric all along, is most peculiar. Among the manifold "officers" of the Humanitarians (directors and chief directors, presidents, chief presidents, &c.), whose duties and modes of election are minutely described in the book, I find no mention of priests, but some such there must be, as is manifest from the following "service," which I subjoin in full as a fitting conclusion of this curious subject—curious as being a creed and culture elaborated from the brain of one man, who "knows" it to be all right:—

"HUMANITARIAN MARRIAGES.

"The love of man for woman and of woman for man is an essential part of human nature. Therefore, although sexual love may be temporarily suppressed

or perverted, yet it cannot be eradicated from human nature. For the God of Nature corrects with physical and mental pain not only those who suppress human nature by celibacy, but also those who corrupt human nature by polygamy and licentiousness.

"That the God of Nature corrects not only individuals who practice celibacy, but also society which approves of the example and teaching of the erring Jesus and Paul as regards matrimony—viz., that a life of celibacy is holier and therefore better than a married life—may be seen in countries in which Christianity seduces the most conscientious Christians to become priests, monks, and nuns.

"That the God of Nature corrects not only individuals who practise polygamy, but also society which esteems the polygamists Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, Solomon, and Mahometan Saints, may be observed in countries in which the Bible seduces Christians to become Mormons, and in Mahometan countries.

"That the God of Nature corrects not only individuals who live licentiously, but also society which regards the social evil as a necessary evil, may be especially seen in the capitals of Christian countries.

"As every principle, the approval or the practice of which is corrected by the God of Nature is a vice, celibacy, as recommended by the erring Jesus and Paul and practised by Christian priests, monks, and

nuns, as well as polygamy and licentiousness, are therefore vices.

"The love of man for woman and of woman for man in uncorrupted human nature is, however, divine; for it leads to the marriage of the two lovers, and the God of Nature blesses only those who approve and practice monogamy (*i.e.*), the union by marriage of one man with one woman and of one woman with one man.

"That the God of Nature pervades with bliss the husband and wife, who, each forgetting self in the happiness of the other, are united by marriage in the holy bond of rational love, every Humanitarian husband and wife will know.

"The lives of loving and virtuous husbands and wives, especially when blessed with children, whom they educate to become healthy, intelligent, and loving men and women, are the holiest lives human beings can lead. For it is as great wisdom and virtue in husbands and wives to be parents of such children, as it is folly and crime to be murderers; since virtuous parents not only prolong their own lives, but are the means of giving life to others: whereas murderers not only shorten their own lives, but take the lives of others.

"As every principle the practice and approval of which is rewarded by the God of Nature is a virtue, and the approval and practice of monogamy is more blessed than that of any other virtue, a Humanitarian marriage is, therefore, the most meritorious act of

human life, and the solemnization of matrimony is the holiest performance sanctioned by the 'Religion of God.'

"In Humanitarian countries the solemnization of matrimony by any adult Humanitarian, according to Humanitarian rites, is sufficient to make two lovers husband and wife. In other countries, however, Humanitarians will in addition conform to the laws regarding matrimony if such laws require civil and not ecclesiastical marriages. The 'Religion of God' forbids marriages between relatives in the direct line, but recommends only marriages of persons not related either by consanguinity or affinity. The 'Religion of God,' however, sanctions only love marriages, and the matrimonial alliance of two lovers of different creeds, nations, and races is especially meritorious.'

"THE HUMANITARIAN SOLEMNIZATION OF MATRIMONY.

At the day and time appointed for the solemnization of matrimony the persons to be married shall come before the officiating Humanitarian with at least two witnesses. The officiating Humanitarian may then give a lecture or confine himself or herself to reading passages from the 'Religion of God' referring to Humanitarian marriages, after which the officiating Humanitarian shall say:—

"The omnipresent God of Nature and we are witnesses that these two lovers have come here with the avowed intention of uniting themselves in holy

matrimony as husband and wife. We, Humanitarians, acknowledge that the God of Nature, who is the only infallible being in existence, has been teaching in all countries and during all eternity that the love-marriage of one man with one woman and of one woman with one man is the only union of sexes conducive to human happiness. A married life is, therefore, the holiest life any man or woman can lead, for the God of Nature is blessing matrimony for the following and other reasons:—

"1. To satisfy the holy demand of uncorrupted human nature for sexual intercourse by the only means conducive to the physical, intellectual, and moral health of both sexes.

"2. To satisfy the holy desire of uncorrupted human nature for the society, sympathy, friendship, love, confidence, help, and comfort of one of the other sex.

"3. To satisfy the holy longing of uncorrupted human nature for propagating and improving our race in our children, thereby providing for ourselves happier human lives upon this earth, after the disorganization of our present body.

"4. To make individuals forget self and think of the happiness of others.

"5. To unite estranged families and nations in a bond of friendship.

"6. To mitigate the inequality, prejudices, and animosity created by erring or wicked priests and politicians.

"As you two lovers present wish to be married, I ask you in the interests of society and in the name of the God of Nature, who knows the secrets of all souls, and rewards and corrects instantly every human thought, desire, and act, to confess if either of you know any impediment why you may not be religiously joined together in holy matrimony. For, if you are united otherwise than the 'Religion of God,' or the just laws of all countries allow, you are neither joined together by the God of Nature, nor is your matrimony lawful.

"*If both lovers answer 'I know of no impediment,' then shall the officiating Humanitarian ask them:—*

"Do you love each other? Have you resolved to forget self and try to make each other happy? Do you believe yourself capable of maintaining a family?

"*If both answer 'Yes,' the officiating Humanitarian shall address the man:—*

"Wilt thou have this woman to thy wedded wife, to live together after the divine precepts of the 'Religion of God,' in holy estate of matrimony? Wilt thou love, comfort, and honour her, and keep thee only unto her, so long as ye both shall live?

"*If the man answers 'I will,' then shall the officiating Humanitarian ask the woman:—*

"Wilt thou have this man to thy wedded husband, to live together after the divine precepts of the 'Religion of God,' in the holy estate of matrimony? Wilt

thou love, honour, and comfort him, and keep thee only unto him, so long as ye both shall live?

"*If the woman answers 'I will,' then shall the officiating Humanitarian cause the man with his right hand to take the woman by her right hand, and to say after him as follows:—*

"I *M.* take thee *N.* to my wedded wife, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, honour, and to cherish, till death us do part, according to the holy precepts of the 'Religion of God,' and thereto I plight thee my troth.

"*Then shall they loose their hands, and the woman with her right hand taking the man by his right hand, shall likewise say after the officiating Humanitarian:—*

"I *N.* take thee *M.* to my wedded husband, to have and to hold from this day forward, for better, for worse, for richer, for poorer, in sickness and in health, to love, honour, and to cherish, till death us do part, according to the holy precepts of the 'Religion of God,' and thereto I plight thee my troth.

"*Then shall they again loose their hands, and the man shall put a plain gold ring on the fourth finger of the woman's left hand, and shall address her after the officiating Humanitarian:—*

"I give you this ring as a memorial of our wedding, and as a sign to society that you are a married woman. Let it always remain on the fourth finger of

your left hand, both as a remembrance that I am your husband, and as a protection for yourself and others from temptations.

"*Then the woman shall put a plain gold ring on the fourth finger of the man's left hand, and shall address him after the officiating Humanitarian:—*

"I give you this ring as a memorial of our wedding, and a sign to society that you are a married man. Let it always remain on the fourth finger of your left hand, both as a remembrance that I am your wife, and as a protection for yourself and others from temptations.

"*Then shall the man and woman give each other both hands, and the officiating Humanitarian shall say:—*

"Forasmuch as *M.* and *N.* have consented together in holy wedlock, and have witnessed the same before the God of Nature and this company, and thereto have given and pledged their troth either to other, and have declared the same by giving and receiving a ring, and by joining of hands, I pronounce that they be man and wife together, in the name of the infinitely wise, just, and merciful God of Nature, and in the name of society. Let, therefore, neither man nor woman come between husband and wife, whom love has united, and whom society and the God of Nature have joined in holy matrimony.

"And you, husband and wife, let your example be a joy to Humanitarians and a light to the Heathens,

and the God of Nature will bless you according to your merits—viz., in proportion as you keep the holy precepts of the 'Religion of God.' May all of us deserve a blessing."

After all, the duties of Humanitarianism did not appear to be so special as to require all this new apparatus. They are, in fact, very much like those prescribed by most other religions.

The Twelve Principal Duties of Humanitarians towards themselves and all human beings, as taught by God Himself through the Laws of the Universe.

"1. Be neither suicides, drunkards, nor bigots, but prolong your lives and render them happy.

"2. Be neither credulous fools nor deriding and deceiving sophists, but educate yourselves and mankind at large.

"3. Be neither murderers nor tyrants, but take an interest in the material and political welfare of all human beings.

"4. Be neither monks and nuns, nor polygamists and Bible communists, but marry to live with one wife or husband.

"5. Be neither neglectful as parents, nor ungrateful as children, but be good parents and dutiful children.

"6. Do not embitter your lives either by quarrels or deceit, but be loving and truthful husbands and wives.

"7. Be neither toiling slaves nor useless idlers, but work and rest moderately.

"8. Hate, with all your soul, deceit, slander, and crimes, but love, and convert by the judicious mercy all criminals and impostors.

"9. Be neither indifferent nor prejudiced towards any newly discovered knowledge, but take an interest in every truth.

"10. Be neither misers nor vagabonds and thieves, but assist, if rich, or ask for assistance, if poor, since unavoidable poverty is no disgrace.

"11. Be neither silent nor perjurers, but be true witnesses.

"12. Do not honour either hereditary titles and orders, or despise the children born out of wedlock and of criminal parents, but esteem and imitate all truly noble men and women, so as to acquire a really noble nature.

SOCIABLE HERETICS.

It is a dreadful thing to say, but my life is gradually resolving itself into one long quest of Heterodoxy. As the Pharisees of old compassed sea and land to make one proselyte, so do I to find one heretic; though his previously unregenerate condition relieves me from the necessity of making him what those masters in Israel made their disciples. It was in such a spirit that I wrote to the Rev. Charles Voysey, who is always—he will excuse my saying so—a safe resource for heresy; and he obligingly sent me by return of post his "Gospel of Hell Fire," together with a few other publications, which were all that I could desire in the way of written documents; whilst he added, what was even more to my purpose, an invitation to attend the opening soirée of the "Liberal Social Union." I sniffed heresy, and accepted on the spot.

There is one difficulty which I believe always attaches more or less to gatherings of this character, not only in reference to the female sex, but even in its degree to the stronger side of humanity; perhaps more pertinently still to that neutral epicene or third sex to which I belong, the clergy of the Church of England as by law established. It is this: shall we go dressed

or undressed? I am not alluding to any reversion towards the Adamic Dispensation of Innocence; but simply to the dispensation of dress coats. Shall we assume the swallow-tail (I am now speaking only of the second and third sexes), or shall we forbear? For myself I have an Alexandrine mode of cutting this Gordian knot, which I proceed to impart for the benefit of those whom I am so proud to call my "clerical brethren." It is this—when in doubt, assume the canonicals. To neglect the *tenue de soir* may be to imperil the Establishment, or seriously to compromise it in the estimation of Dissenters. To wear the swallow-tail when others did not might savour of a proclivity towards "worldliness;" but the M.B. waistcoat and long-tailed coat literally cover a multitude of sins: so in clerical attire of the most intense and severe order did I go to mingle with the unconverted.

When I got to the Beethoven Rooms, Harley Street, where the armies of the infidel were to gather, so numerous were the hosts that the janitor who took the hats and coats was in a state of positive bewilderment; but I think my reverend aspect tranquillized him for the time being. Upstairs I was in a moment relieved from all anxiety as to costume, for the army wore nothing in the shape of uniform. Mr. Voysey was in evening dress, with white kids, like a layman's. Mr. Conway wore a frock coat, with light continuations; and the Unitarian ministers were as clerical and correct as myself. So all uneasiness on that

score vanished. Two ladies were extracting a duet from a piano on the platform, and in the body of the room a multitude seethed and listened. I met a number of genial heretics, who really looked as innocent and harmless as the orthodox could have done under the circumstances. By-and-by the ladies ceased to pound and the pianoforte to protest, and we went peacefully on to the real business of the evening, which I had been informed was the reading of a paper, with subsequent discussion on the comparative advantages of openness and reserve in the expression of opinion. There was a *soupçon* of Jesuitry in the title, blending with the heresy I felt sure I should get, which made the subject irresistibly attractive to me; and I felt quite impatient while the chairman introduced the reader with the usual complimentary remarks.

Mounting his rostrum, the Sociable Heretic (I hope he was a heretic, though I "name no names," in case he should not be) said—

The Society which we inaugurate to-night is distinguished by the title of the Liberal Association. It is well that we should clearly apprehend what this term Liberal really means, at any rate, in what sense we propose to employ it.

This is the more necessary at the commencement of our operations, because the term Liberal has been greatly abused, so much so that it has been constantly employed to designate those who hold one particular

class or type of religious doctrines, quite irrespective of the manner or the spirit in which they profess them.

True liberality is a state of mind which tolerates all types and all shades of opinions, and is willing to investigate and to discuss them in a temperate, unprejudiced, and rational manner. But I hear some of you ready to reply, How can a Society which professes itself Liberal, comprehend persons who take the most partial and narrow views on moral and theological questions—men whose creeds range and vibrate from extreme Ultra-Calvinism on one side, to extreme Ultramontanism on the other? Now, I do not mean to say that an Ultra-Calvinist or an Ultramontanist of the type we usually meet with could find any place whatever within the limits of our Association, but I affirm at the same time that there is no reason in the nature of things why they should not do so.

Let me then for a moment or two try to define what I mean, and in doing so let us see if we can find the true basis on which this Association proposes to stand.

Let us imagine, first, that a rigid Protestant of the strictly Biblical school appears before us with the Bible in his hand, and addresses us as follows:—"Here in this volume is an end of all controversy. Here is the law and the testimony. Here is a verbal revelation from the Most High that tells precisely what we are and what we are not to believe, and such being

the case, it is at our everlasting peril that we even doubt or reject it." With a person who has made up his mind to this view of the case, and admits no open questions in relation to these fixed and settled convictions, we could certainly have no intercourse, simply because there is no common ground whatever to start from. But should a person of the very same school of thought come to us and say, "I believe, after careful consideration, that the Bible is verbally inspired, and that it unfolds a whole scheme of theology, which I cordially accept. I believe all this because my reason is convinced of it. New evidence may alter my views, and as no question can possibly be closed against further research, and no one's judgment can be infallible, I am ready to allow the same liberty to others as I claim for myself, and shall welcome everything which pours new light upon the tremendous questions of human nature and human destiny." If, I say, a person even of the strictest opinions came to us in this spirit, and with these veritable intentions, he is, to my mind, in the truest sense of the word, a Liberal thinker, and consequently in fundamental harmony with other Liberal thinkers of different schools of thought all over the world. Exactly in the same way, if an Ultramontane Catholic comes to us and roundly asserts the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, without any reserve or any admission of open questions, or any idea of the right of human reason to question and criticise the claims of authority, such a mind could find no niche

for itself in a Society which professes *liberality* in our sense of the word; but if a sincere Catholic comes with the profession that, although his reason is convinced, yet the questions in dispute are still open, and that fresh light may modify his whole theory, I do not see any reason why a Catholic of this temper should not find himself in perfect harmony with the objects we all profess to have in view.

The basis, then, on which I suppose we take our stand is twofold:—

I. That all intellectual questions are open questions.

II. That the spirit in which they are discussed is one of perfect respect for every reasonable individual who admits the full right of research, and welcomes the free expression of all the convictions to which such research may lead.

I particularly wish you to mark that I use the word *intellectual* to designate the questions which are open ones. I do not go quite so far in relation to moral and æsthetic questions. Good *morals* literally mean good *manners*, and I do not think that any Association like the present can violate the accepted laws of *good manners*, or allow their propriety to be brought down upon the arena of open discussion *at all*. We stand upon the accepted manners and morals of the age and community in which we live, but intellectually and speculatively we hold ourselves free from any mental restraint. That at least is my idea of the only possible

basis of a liberal association between minds who profess *perfect* intellectual freedom.

But now comes a very important point. Men may be intellectually free, but how far is it wise or politic to act unrestrainedly upon that freedom? Many (perhaps we may say most) of those living around us have fixed traditional religious beliefs. How far is it wise or right to run the risk of unsettling such fixed religious beliefs in others by discussing openly their truth or falsehood? Fixed religious beliefs, though they may be rationally untenable, yet exercise a great moral restraint upon those who hold them. How far, then, is it wise for those who may be termed advanced thinkers to ventilate their doubts? And should they not rather practise reserve in the expression of their convictions, in deference to others whose faith may be shaken, whose moorings may be loosed, and who may thus be driven from a firm mental anchorage into an ocean of incertitude and doubt?

Now this is assuredly a very serious question, and requires a good deal of calm consideration.

And, first, in reference to this subject of reserve, let me point out that it is quite natural for us to practise reserve in relation to our religious feelings. There is something in them so sacred and tender that it appears almost like desecration to expose them, except on rare and proper occasions, to the gaze of others. When I was in Brighton a short time ago I saw an announcement placarded all over the town that on Sunday next

twenty Christians would relate the story of their conversion in the Town Hall, and all classes were invited to hear them. "Now here," I thought, "is a proper case of reserve;" nor was it possible to repress a doubt as to the purity and elevation of their religious sentiments, which loved to parade themselves before the eyes of the public at large.

But when we come to theological opinions this natural ground of reserve at once vanishes. Theological opinions are based partly on facts real or supposed, and partly on reasonings which grow out of them, and to neither of these is any particular sanctity attached which could lead us to shrink from their full discussion.

Let us look, for example, at the cosmogony of the Old Testament. Here, although many sects of Christians base their philosophy of the universe entirely upon it, yet there is certainly nothing which calls for reserve. We may certainly discuss quite openly the question whether this world we live in was created just as it is six thousand years ago, or whether the enormous antiquity of it is not borne out by geological research; whether Adam and Eve were really the first human pair; or whether we have not plain evidence of a far higher antiquity as regards human existence. There is nothing particularly sacred or awful in an arrow-head turned up in the tertiary river-drift that we should hurry it away into darkness for fear it should antagonize the story of the Pentateuch.

In the same way we may surely discuss without reserve the question whether there is any historical evidence of the Deluge, of the sun standing still to give the Israelites time to pursue and massacre their enemies, of the ass speaking to Balaam with human voice, or the whale swallowing Jonah. Doubtless there are many who swallow all this in perfect good faith, and with the most pious trust in divine revelation; but we can hardly be called upon, in deference to their feelings, to do the same without something like evidence; and if we demand evidence at all, why, of course the whole historical question involved in it must come out into the broad daylight of unreserved discussion.

Turn we from the things presented as facts in the Old Testament to those which are presented as facts in the New. And here we come upon more delicate ground, because these facts are bound up more or less closely with the whole nerve and growth of our religious life.

Perhaps if it were tacitly allowed for every one to form his own opinions on these historical questions; if no great conclusions were drawn affecting the outward basis of society; and if no authority were arrogated, to which all are summoned both intellectually and socially to bow, it would be well to practise reserve, and leave every man to follow the leadings of his own reason and conscience. But this is not by any means our present position. There is no reserve

practised by those who maintain the historical certitude of that on which the whole network of our popular theology is grounded.

Paley's Evidences are expounded in our highest seats of learning, and similar reasonings are set forth in almost every school, and college, and pulpit in the country.

All over Europe more or less it is stated and maintained, and argued both on historical and metaphysical grounds, that Jesus Christ was born into this world in a manner perfectly miraculous; that He Himself performed a series of astounding miracles culminating in the raising of the dead to life; that He Himself rose from the dead, and visibly ascended to heaven; that He claimed an unlimited power over human faith and obedience; that on leaving the world He communicated this power to His apostles—this divine authority to the church; which church accordingly retains the right of deciding what is truth—of wielding an invisible spiritual power in the sacraments—of forgiving sins, and pronouncing absolution on the sinner.

Now, this whole theory, whether received as a creed, an ecclesiastical institution or visible authority, is either true or false. If it be true, the import to every human soul is tremendous, and so far from any one practising *reserve*, the divine plan of forgiveness and salvation should be proclaimed on every housetop by every believer. If, on the contrary, we have any

reason to believe that it is false, the power for evil wielded by such pretensions is equally tremendous; any reserve in maintaining its baselessness is unworthy any man who pretends to love either truth or humanity.

Indeed, it seems almost impossible to imagine why theories like these should not be freely and openly discussed, and doubts either confirmed or dissipated, but for the old historical assumption of absolute authority, which has been employed so unscrupulously to shelter and protect the dogmas of a dominating Church. We all know that two or three centuries ago, to deny or even openly to doubt this scheme of ecclesiastical supremacy was to expose the doubter to the horrors of the Inquisition or the flames of martyrdom. No wonder therefore that reserve should be practised in those days. There was a specially good reason for it.

Those evil days have indeed passed away, but the shrinking from any open challenge of a prevailing and established creed still remains, and the hand of outward authority (though it no longer wields a sword) still lies heavy upon the head of an outspoken religious inquirer. Outspokenness in theological matters, when it runs counter to established dogmas, still brings with it its pains and penalties, sometimes in the form of abuse, sometimes of neglect, always in the form of unpopularity or scorn.

There are not probably ten parish churches in all

England which would welcome the presence of Bishop Colenso in the pulpit, or ten clergymen who would ask him to preach, although we may be sure that there are not merely tens but hundreds who in their inmost minds go along with the Bishop in his researches, and sympathize in most of his conclusions. It is in such cases as these that the relative effects of openness and reserve become visible—the one is punished by public opinion, the other is winked at, and ignored. Sober respectability accompanied by a little acknowledged hypocrisy and reserve is more appreciated by public opinion than any degree of unreserved and honest doubt.

But now we come to the most important aspect of the whole question—viz., What is the real ultimate effect of this kind of reserve upon the nobler and most earnest-minded Christians of the present day? Is that effect any less painful or less deleterious than perfect freedom of discussion? Admit that such outspoken freedom has its grave and questionable aspect, admit that many minds unfit to struggle with doubt may be unhinged; on which side, on that of openness or reserve, lie the greatest dangers to be avoided, the most formidable evils to be feared? Remember this is not an age in which doubts and questionings can be hidden and ignored. Do what we will, close our mouths as we may, there is a vast undercurrent of disbelief in established dogmas which it is perfectly impossible to keep hidden from the

thoughts and suspicions of every young inquirer. Taking this into account, I think we shall not fail to come to the conclusion that the practice of reserve is in the end far the most destructive to all sincere and whole-hearted belief. For what are the phenomena presented by such reserve to the mind sincerely inquiring, not after *orthodoxy*, but after *truth?* In place of that tone of earnest conviction which carries power to the heart of the listener, in place of the singleness of eye, that unhesitating repose upon *truth*, felt and treasured, he hears half-hearted statements, dogmas fenced round with all kinds of moral limitations, inward doubts concealed under orthodox phrases that they may not appear like doubts, and qualifications of all kinds designed to save the doctrines technically professed from clashing with the moral convictions of the age. This is the kind of religious teaching we now hear on all sides. Just listen to an ordinary preacher, whose creed affirms the eternity of future punishments, stating this tremendous fact to his hearers. Does he now clothe it in such language as we find unhesitatingly employed by John Bunyan or Jonathan Edwards? does he enter into such particulars as they did, to strike terror into the hearts of the listener? No, no. The moral sense of the age would not tolerate it if he did, and so he wraps up his teaching in a few Biblical phrases about the worm that dies not, and the fire that is not quenched, and sheltered under this verbal authority, leaves

every hearer to draw his own conclusions as to what it all means. This is merely an instance of what I mean by *reserve* in place of *openness,* in stating our religious convictions. And what holds good in regard to the doctrine above mentioned, holds good in regard to almost all the great crucial dogmas which came forth in all the sharpness of logical definition at the time of the Reformation. The ideas of election, reprobation, vicarious atonement, original sin, human inability, effectual calling, and a host of others have undergone a complete transformation by the moral thought of the age; but yet they are all kept on the *statute book,* and all *proclaimed* under limitation and reserve.

Now, the effect of this is, assuredly, to make all religious teaching sound hollow and unreal. The inquirer is puzzled and perplexed, he does not know what he has to accept and what to reject: his whole mind is put into the attitude of antagonism and doubt, and by being led to reject a *part,* he ends probably by rejecting the whole substance of religious truth.

This, I know, is the mental history of hundreds and thousands of young people in the present day. And what we have now to ask ourselves is *this*—Would not perfect openness and candour in stating difficulties and probing doubts be far more conducive to religious principle and reasonable faith?

I think so, for this *reason.* When a large demand is made upon our faith (as is the case of those who

profess the entire miraculous constitution of the church and creed of Christendom), and when notwithstanding the profession only half-hearted statements and qualified convictions are put forward to support it; when, in fact, there is a struggle clearly going on between the demands of orthodoxy on the one hand and the moral sense of the age on the other, the mind of the inquirer is thrown necessarily into a state of antagonism to all belief.

For if a part only, or to say the least, a very qualified interpretation of the current belief be true, may not the whole turn out, under the force of a severer criticism, to be equally untenable? This, I say, is the natural effect of a half-hearted profession. On the other hand, when doubts and difficulties are freely expressed and canvassed, the faith principle in our nature is, as it were, put on its guard. Faith is far more natural and sympathetic to the great mass of human minds than scepticism, and any open criticism of what that faith involves makes us cling to it all the more firmly. When we think we know all that can fairly be said against a reasonable system of religious truth, we find, perchance, that it does not amount to anything very stringent or formidable after all—nay, in place of the mysterious fear conveyed in an inuendo, we discover that the position of unbelief when fully stated is by no means strong or unanswerable. A natural reaction therefore sets in in its favour, and our faith being now grounded in reason

and argument, and having no reserve to fear, holds up its head in the light of day and defies any further assault, and thus attains a simplicity as well as a vigour which is quite impossible under the system of reserve.

Let me bring this contrast into a more concrete form, by showing you how it stands in the writings of two of the most remarkable men of this century.

John Henry Newman, in his Apologia, describes the human intellect as a ravening beast, that has to be driven back by the iron bar of authority; to use his own words, "Authority smiting hard, and throwing back the immense energy of the aggressive intellect."

If this means anything, it means that our reason (except under outward control) is our greatest foe—and that the gift of it is only consistent with the benevolence of the Deity, on the ground that He has provided an antidote in the Church. In other words, that without the teaching of the Church, ignorance and imbecility would be a blessing. Can anything, I ask, be more suicidal than the favourite crusade which all the abettors of authority in whatever form are so apt to proclaim against the human reason?

How do we know then that there is a Supreme Being at all? How do we know that there exists either in the Bible or in the Church a revelation of His will? Nay, how do we know, even if there is a revelation, that such a revelation speaks the truth?

How do we know that God cannot lie? How, I ask, except by falling back upon our rational faculties and moral instincts?

How does Dr. Newman conclude that there is an external authority in the world?—that this authority has any truth to communicate—that the truth if communicated is good and not evil?—how, but by the exercise of that very reason he would curb and repress?

If my aggressive intellect has led me wrong in pulling down the claims of authority, may not his aggressive intellect have been wrong in setting it up?

If reason itself is a delusion and a snare, why must it be right just when it leads to one particular conclusion and wrong when it leads to any other? To decry reason as delusive, and then appeal to it to prove the claims of authority is not very far from a *reductio ad absurdum.* If reason makes a false conclusion in one case, why not in another? If it be untrustworthy in the very nature of things, then no truth is possible to man. As well get into a basket and try to lift ourselves up by the handles.

Turn we to the other side of the contrast—which we find in a distinctive utterance of the great Nonconformist Robert Hall—namely, this: "Whatever retards a spirit of inquiry is favourable to error, and whatever promotes it is favourable to truth."

See the difference.

In the former case our intellectual life is at war with itself—is involved in perpetual conflict and contradiction.

In the latter case the reason is single of eye and aim, and if engaged in conflict, it is only a conflict marching on to conquest—conquest over error and darkness, ignorance and evil.

And how do these conflicts respectively end? The conflict of reason with authority, if we may judge by the condition of those countries where it more especially prevails, ends in doubt, then indifference, then nihilism. Such is the present condition as far as religious matters go of nearly the whole male population of France, Spain, and Italy. On the other hand the result of the conquests made by reason untrammelled by authority are seen in the steady progress of moral ideas, the gradual amelioration of the ills of humanity, the decline of superstition, and the increased love and reverence for the true, the beautiful, and the good.

We have heard of the devotion of which ignorance is the mother, we have heard of the religion of the ascetic and the monk, we have heard of the zeal of the sectarian: may we not look forward in the future to the religion of free thought, where there may be faith without bigotry, zeal without persecution, toleration without coldness and insult; where piety is reconciled with reason, love to the Divine with the highest knowledge, and where labour for the conversion of the world is associated at once with

science, philanthropy, and all that is highest and best?

Then began a discussion. The Rev. John Hunt, a clergyman of I know not what persuasion, simply patted the reader on the back—metaphorically, of course—and quite agreed that there were subjects on which reticence might advantageously be exercised, quoting rather more texts than the Sociable Heretics seemed quite to care about, but dexterously avoiding collision with anybody. An amiable gentleman was Mr. Hunt, who might almost be pictured as bringing the Ultra-Calvinist and Ultramontanist to meet together, the Protestant and Catholic to kiss one another. Then followed Mr. Conway, who, as the representative of Fox's Chapel, could not quite agree with anybody or anything, and was not quite sure about this reserve, in matters even of morality. Mr. Conway is American; and I trembled lest we should get at once upon Free Love, or Shakerism, or something equally tremendous. But Mr. Conway's thunder was mild, and he "aggressed" nobody.

After some little delay, a lady was induced to speak—Miss Marshall; and a nice little lady-like speech she made too, stroking down the worthy lecturer as gently as, and of course even more pleasantly than the Rev. John Hunt had done. Then followed a Bengalese merchant, who made a sensation with his picturesque Oriental dress and nervous declamation in slightly—but only slightly—broken Eng-

lish. It was all in the mutual admiration way; as was also the eloquent address of the Rev. R. R. Suffield, quondam Roman Catholic priest, but now the pastor of a Free Christian Church, and a Sociable Heretic. Mr. Voysey followed with a brief address, and then a clergyman of the Established Church, who had to be fished up from the tea-room, where he was practising "reserve," proposed a vote of thanks to the reader of the paper, which seemed about to be carried by acclamation, when Mr. Levy, a gentleman of dialectical renown, got up on the platform, and, while seconding the vote of thanks, protested, as a dialectician of course ought to do, against any reserve at all. They certainly do not practise any in their Socratic Society. Mr. Levy seemed to find a great many sympathizers in the room, if one might judge by the plaudits of gloved hands; but even he did not bring Free Love on the *tapis*, and nothing occurred to mar the success of the evening. The gentle opposition of Mr. Levy acted only like a mild titillation after the somewhat monotonous repetitions of unqualified approval.

Of course, if one could only put out of sight the tremendous fact of unorthodoxy, these social gatherings might be regarded as very nice indeed. To see "those people"—it is the way they are always described—"those people," or, less grammatically, "those sort of people"—to see them struggling for Bohea or plates of plumcake, or afterwards breaking

up into little knots in the drawing-room, almost gave one the beautiful idea of the curates of the parish and district visitors at an orthodox "tea-fight." But, alas! what was the subject of their discourse? The St. George's Hall lecture of the next morning or afternoon. It was on a Saturday evening when the soirée was held—at a time when all good clergymen would be writing their sermons. It was actually not so far off twelve o'clock when the last stragglers broke off their heretical converse. Somebody even proposed a final performance on the pianoforte, but that, I rejoice to say, was overruled; and, as I went home through the quiet streets, I could not help feeling the jingle of a profane song running through my consciousness, and bearing, I am sure, some occult reference to the scene I had just quitted—"It's naughty, but it's nice!"

The following are the rules of this novel institution:—

"1. That the Society be called 'The Liberal Social Union.'

"2. That the object of the Society be the promotion of social intercourse and co-operation amongst liberal thinkers.

"3. That the Society have as its motto the following extract from the Apology of Socrates:—'Seeing you are an Athenian, of a city the most powerful and most renowned for wisdom and strength, are you not ashamed of being careful for riches, how you may

acquire them in greatest abundance, and for glory and honour, but care not nor take thought for wisdom and truth, and for your soul, how it may be made most perfect?"

"4. That the object of the Society, as set forth in Rule 2, be promoted by means of (1) conversaziones, discussions, lectures, and other social meetings; (2) when practicable, the circulation of pamphlets and books, and other agencies of a like nature as may be from time to time resolved upon.

"5. That the Society consist of (1) the original members, (2) those subsequently elected.

"6. That the persons entitled to become *original members* be those who were on the provisional committee appointed by 'The London Students' Union,' together with those who shall be invited by the committee to become members, on or before January 1st, 1874.

"7. That candidates for membership be proposed by one member, and seconded by another member; each of whom shall sign the following declaration:—'We, the undersigned, from our personal knowledge, believe that A. B. will be a desirable addition to the Society.'

"8. That the names of candidates be proposed at a meeting of the Society, at which the names of candidate, proposer, and seconder shall be read out; and that they come on for election at the next meeting.

"9. That the election be by ballot; one adverse

vote in five to exclude. If fewer than twenty votes are recorded at the election of any candidate, the name of that candidate to be submitted to another ballot at the next meeting of the Society.

"10. That the names of candidates be sent in to the secretary, and be laid by him before the committee previously to their being presented to the Society.

"11. That it be an honourable understanding among all members of this Society that no one shall blackball a candidate on account of any speculative opinion held or advocated by that candidate.

"12. That the entrance fee be 5*s.*, and the annual subscription 10*s.* 6*d.* In the case of members of a family residing in the same house, a second entrance fee will not be required. Donations will be accepted from members for the general purposes of the Seciety.

"13. That the Society be governed by a committee of twenty-four persons, consisting of ladies and gentlemen, who shall be elected at the annual general meeting. Casual vacancies to be filled up by the committee.

"14. That all meetings of the Society and of its committees be presided over by a chairman appointed at the previous meeting of the committee, or elected at the meeting. Five members must in every case be present to constitute a quorum.

"15. That the committee appoint treasurer and

secretary, or secretaries and subordinate officers, as they may deem necessary.

"16. That the committee have power to regulate the proceedings of the Society, and from time to time to frame such bye-laws as they may consider to be requisite.

"17. That no rule of the Society be rescinded or altered except at the annual general meeting, or at a special general meeting convened for the purpose.

"18. That if the conduct of any member be such as, in the opinion of the committee, to bring discredit upon the Society, he or she be liable to expulsion. No member shall be expelled except upon the recommendation of the committee (the option of withdrawal having previously been given to him), and by the votes of three-fourths of the members voting at a general meeting at which not less than twenty votes are recorded. The voting to be by ballot. When the expulsion of a member is to be considered by the committee, previous notice of the fact shall be given by the secretary to every member of the committee. And in the event of the matter being brought before the Society, a similar notice shall be sent to every member of the Society.

"19. That there be one general meeting of the Society on fixed days to be determined by the committee in every month with the exception of August and September."

AN UNHISTORIC CHRIST.

Guiding my devious footsteps by that Vade Mecum of Heterodoxy, the *National Reformer*, with its long and graduated list of heretical gatherings, I turned one evening in early spring towards the discussion room of the South London Secular Society, which is opposite the Surrey Theatre, there to hear Mr. Myles McSweeney discourse on the portentous thesis, "Was Christ an Historical Character?"

I missed several other *bonnes bouches* that evening to secure being present at this most amazing discussion. Mr. Bradlaugh, at the Hall of Science, was to discourse on Heinrich Heine; Mr. Hale, at Hackney, was to demonstrate Spiritualism to be false; Mr. Kaspary, to enlighten his sparse audience of Humanitarians on the Biblical Fall of Man—all interesting, if not edifying topics: but I would none of these. I would go and hear Myles McSweeney tear to tatters the last shred of faith—belief in a historic Christ. Let me honestly confess my ignorance: I did not know until I read that announcement that anybody did question the historical existence of Christ, whatever they might say as to His character and mission.

Arrived at my destination, I climbed the crazy

stair up which you have to mount to the discussion room of the South London Secularists, and found a moderately-sized apartment pretty well filled with genuine working men—great bearded fellows with the signs of labour on their horny hands, and fine massive foreheads and intellectual physiognomies, which showed that the mind had not lain dormant while the busy fingers were at work. Most of them wore their hats, many wideawakes, which gave quite a picturesque and brigandlike aspect to the gathering. Several were intent upon their *National Reformers*, which were being sold in the room; others grouped round a gentleman on the platform, who was telling them how to get tickets for Professor Huxley's lectures to working men at the School of Mines. "Sixpence for the course—a penny for a lecture by Huxley! You never heard anything like it, my boys. Only remember the theatre holds but six hundred, so be in time."

On the back of the platform, on which stood the customary table, was a dreadful daub of a drop-scene, plainly the relic of some recent private theatricals. In front of it stood a studious-looking elderly man, reading, with spectacles on nose. I was looking at him, and wondering whether it was Myles McSweeney, when, such is fame! he looked up from his book and greeted me interrogatively by name. It *was* Mr. Myles McSweeney, and he had guessed my identity!

By the time the lecture commenced the room was

quite filled, mostly by men, but with a few females here and there amongst them. I learnt that the subject had been on the *tapis* before, but still the discourse was to all intents and purposes a detached one. The line Mr. McSweeney took was, I found, that of Mr. Coxe and others, in reference to Greek Mythology—namely, that the gospel life of Christ was simply a solar myth. Mr. Coxe, it may be remembered, resolves the old story of Troy into the same astronomical elements. Mr. McSweeney did not say whether he accepted Mr. Coxe's theory—in fact, he did not mention it; but such was the most novel and extraordinary method which he applied to the life of Christ. It was simply an allegory. No such person ever existed.

The birth of Zoroaster, said the lecturer, had been predicted as to take place from an immaculate Virgin, and to be preceded by a miraculous star. He did not believe that such a person as Zoroaster ever lived, but the same kind of legend pervaded all religions. In the Apocryphal Gospel of the Infancy it was said that the Wise Men came from the East "according to the prophecy of Zoroaster." Matthew mentioned the prophecy, but omitted the name of Zoroaster. This showed a fallacy, for without that prophecy Christianity had nothing to rest upon. The Child was to be born of the Virgo in the Zodiac; and Eben-Ezra, quoting from the Zendavesta, said, "In the Persian sphere there rises up in the face of the sign Virgo a beau-

tiful maiden with two ears of corn and a child, to whom she gives suck. Her we call the pure Virgin, and the child's name is Jesus the Saviour."

All ancient fables had some fact at the back of them, but this fact was hidden in the Christian myth. Bethlehem was simply the House of Bread, referring to the corn-ears, above-mentioned. It was the House of the Zodiac, the House of Bread; and the legend of Jesus was simply a Solar Allegory. The Sun acting on the Virgin Earth makes bread, the Saviour of men's lives!

Mr. McSweeney then digressed into a learned discussion on the age of the Sacred Writings. He went deeply into the chronology of the Hitopadesa and the Mahabarata, and from thence inferred that the Vedas ranged back as far as 1580 B.C., or a hundred years before Moses.

Forbes, in his Oriental Memoirs (the lecturer read all his authorities from the originals) said that the Hindoo religion spread over the whole world; and there could be no doubt that Stonehenge was an ancient relic of it. The Brahmins were the authors of the Ptolemaic as the Buddhists of the Copernican system of astronomy, and this nation gave to Greece her Eleusinian Mysteries. True, Hindooism was said to be modern; "but see," said Mr. McSweeney, "the stake the Established Church is playing for when she says this. Here is the Church of England with her eleven millions of revenue, and the Dissent-

ing bodies with their influence. So we have Christendom groaning under priestcraft. Isn't it worth while to tell lies on such terms?"

Sir William Jones appeared to him to settle the question. He identified the Greek Dionysus (whom Mr. McSweeney *would* term Dionysius) with Brahma, even tracing the name in Bromius. The same etymology gave us Bruma, the old name for Christmastide, when the Romans kept their Saturnalia, and—he remarked parenthetically, we keep it still—"Look at the public-houses in Christmas week!" The births of Apollo and of Bacchus were placed at this time, the 25th of December. So was the birth of Thor, at what was called Yule-tide. Sir William Jones identified Krishna with Apollo, or the Sun, and as a fact, all the chaos of pagan deities resolved themselves into one or two powers of nature, and especially into the Sun.

Christ, then, was said to have been born December 25th, when Apollo, or the Sun, was born too. He had his Four Evangelists, who represented the Four Seasons; his Twelve Apostles, who were the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. At the Vernal Equinox nature was renewed. There was, as it were, a new creation. Then the sun crossed the equator, and that crossing represented the Crucifixion. The cross had always been the sign of the equinox.

Then, again, Easter Sunday was the great festival of all, because the sun and moon came into conjunc-

tion—Easter being always regulated by the moon. The very name Easter was taken from the Saxon Oester, and connected with the Phœnician Astarte, still pointing to the sun. Again, it was said that on March 25th the Holy Ghost "overshadowed" the Virgin Mary. From that time to December 25th was exactly nine months. It was simply an allegory of the influence of the sun on the earth.

Now, Mr. McSweeney went on to say, nobody knew how the Gospels came into existence. History was as silent as the grave. Taking a large Bible in his hand, he read the words "The Gospel according to St. Matthew," and asked, Did any one ever hear of a book so introduced? It was only the outcome of Roman Catholic Councils. They manufactured the "whole article." They said that unless we believed we should be damned; and the sects, including their Unitarian friends, put down the Romish Church as the Scarlet Lady. They repudiated the very source of their religion! With regard to the two genealogies, he did not believe that the names in Matthew were the names of men at all, but of gods who were worshipped in early times before Christianity was thought of.

By way of tracing this solar myth back to its Indian source, Mr. McSweeney reminded his hearers that Buddhism and Brahminism had had a great fight, in which the Buddhists appeared to have got the worse.

Missionaries of this conquered faith went forth, and spread over China and Thibet about 600 B.C., and—speaking of his own convictions—he thought that Buddhism was the purest and most philosophical system of religion "ever invented." In Syria the Buddhists became the Essenes. If you compared the accounts of the Essenes by Pliny, Josephus, and Philo with what the Abbé Huc said of the Llamas of Thibet, the identity would be at once apparent. They also settled in Alexandria, which, a century before Christ, was as much the centre of knowledge as London or Paris is now. We found among these the expectation of a Deliverer, who should free man from the iron yoke of Rome. In 60 B.C. the Senate itself was alarmed at the expectation. By-and-by, some said that the Deliverer ought to come, and others that he *had* come. The old idea was made up into Jesus Christ.

So again with the Platonic philosophers. Plato had said prophetically that if a man perfectly good and righteous were to appear he would be scourged and killed. It was, as we had seen, a time of expectation. The Platonic philosophers saw a place was vacant, and said so—"talked the man Jesus into existence." Many of the minor details of Christ's life were but reproductions of what had been attributed to Plato himself.

When Plato's father, for instance, had espoused his cousin, Apollo appeared in a dream, and told him

that she was with child by the divinity. Ariston believed, and Plato was born on the day of Apollo, December 25th! Again, when Plato was brought before the judges he escaped death, but was sold for thirty minæ—thirty "pieces of silver!"

The Christian doctrine, too, argued the lecturer at great length and with much detail, was purely Platonic. Plato taught only what came down to him. "Therefore," he added, "Christianity—or what you call so—is as old as the hills: but in the absence of all evidence as to Christ or the Apostles, you cannot talk of Christ being historical—history is silent!"

"I have," concluded this very outspoken lecturer, "read all mythologies; but I find none so obscure and absurd as this. The circumstance of the Annunciation is paralleled only by Jupiter and Leda, and the legend of Leda is the more poetical of the two."

No doubt the Unitarian would say Christ was a man, and the miracles were falsely attributed to him. But we were talking of one whose mother was a virgin and whose father a "ghost," and who was nowhere without miracles.

So the genealogy came to be—"The Roman Catholics begat the Protestants, the Protestants begat the Denominationalists, the Denominationalists begat the Deists, the Deists begat the Infidels, and the Infidels begat Sensible Men!"

The lecture seemed to give great satisfaction; for it was warmly applauded throughout its course, and at

its close. Then followed a discussion. One, Mr. Hudson, favoured the notion of a man Christ with the idea of miracles grafted on his history. He was, I presume, a Unitarian or a Theist. If ever he wished to be a Christian he would, he said, come and listen to his friend McSweeney, whose theory he carefully dissected, claiming Christ as the historic Freethinker and Republican, whom it was against Free Thought to doubt. He was a noble, erring man, but taught a grand philosophy. "Therefore," said Mr. Hudson, "I stand up for Jesus Christ."

Mr. Collins, while agreeing that many persons feared free thought might be injured by doubting the historic character of Christ, still argued that we should seek the truth only. The knowledge conveyed in this Christian allegory was no fanciful tale, but a grand poetic teaching.

Mr. Gardner, who was supposed to be the great champion of Orthodoxy, was certainly the least satisfactory speaker, and injured his case, as weak friends mostly do. He confessed he had "had to *lay* a-bed all the morning and 'fog out' about the Essenes." McSweeney he regarded as simply "theory-blind," and proceeded to dissect his solar method, though with nothing like the same skill which had been shown in its propounding. Surely here, if ever, was an opportunity for the Christian Evidence Society sending one of their best men.

As I descended the rickety stairs with my strange

companions, dropping, like each of them, some coppers in a tin money-box invitingly held out for the purpose, I could not but think it would be well if some of our preachers would do as I had done that night—put on a black tie and a morning coat, heedless of what the old ladies of their congregations might say, and go and hear the arguments of these working men against the very foundations of the faith.

Surely pulpit language would be more real if preachers knew *how much* they had to combat, how deep down the doubt goes, and how it is not a mere superficial disbelief, but one that bases itself on study, varied if not profound, and reading which may be desultory, but which is certainly destructive.

The doubters will not come to us; then surely our policy is to go to them, and show them that our theology will bear discussion, and that we really do hold what we profess to hold as necessary to salvation.

ADVANCED UNITARIANISM.

THE Sunday preceding St. Patrick's Day, 1874, was to me one of strange and varied experiences, making it evident that heresy, as well as misery, renders one acquainted with remarkable neighbours. I spent the morning in ransacking the Irish neighbourhoods for incendiary papers; and in the afternoon "I demonstrated," like a good Fenian, at the Amnesty Meeting in Hyde Park. Failing to hear any of the oratory on that occasion, and being rather deafened than otherwise by the noise of many brass bands playing the "Tramp Chorus" in different keys, I tore myself from the Reformers' Oak—which, by the way, is an elm tree—and flew on the wing of a Hansom to St. George's Hall, where Dr. Zerffi was to lecture on "The Dawn of Religious Ideas as Exemplified in the Vedas and Zendavesta." From the ridiculous to the sublime, as we all know, is but a single step! Having also, on the previous Sunday, heard Mr. McSweeney prove Christ a myth, I thought it would fall into a natural sequence if, in the evening, I went to hear Mr. Antill, the "Advanced" Unitarian, demolish the Twelve Apostles. That was to be his theme; and I foresaw that he would treat it distinctively. Unita-

rians, if I may, on the vigil of St. Patrick, be allowed the Hibernicism, advance "backwards."

The Advanced Unitarians gather in the lower room of a dancing academy immediately adjoining the Gower Street Station of the Metropolitan Railway. There is, I feel sure, some occult connexion between Terpsichore and Heterodoxy, into which I shall hope one day, when I am in a philosophic mood, to examine. I had previously "done" the Christadelphians in this very ball-room; and, naturally enough, sought the same *salle* when I went to interview my "Advanced" friends. I knew the Christadelphians had moved to other quarters; but a single glance around, when I got into the dancing academy, told me I was not among the Advanced Unitarians. I begin to know a heretic by sight; and the gentleman who was "orating" at a Pembroke table on a platform was none such, I was sure. He was only mildly Unorthodox. I asked a faithful janitor where the Advanced Unitarians were to be found, and, with the information "Down stairs," given with more piety than politeness—and coarse bearishness than either—he showed me out into the street and shut the door. I had strayed, by mistake, into a congregation of some kind of Presbyterians.

I had to wait about for some time before the "Advanced" ones came, and tried area gates and everything in the shape of a door to see where "downstairs" could be. There was another Hall opposite,

where something was going on; and two active gentlemen flew across the road and presented me with placards entitled "Dying Testimony to the Blood." They were not Advanced Unitarians, I was sure. By-and-by, however, a man appeared lighting up an entry I had not tried, and I gladly paid my threepence for a reserved seat and passed down a narrow stone stairway, which reminded me of that leading to the catacombs in Highgate Cemetery, into the large but somewhat damp and mouldy-smelling underground room, where the Advanced Unitarians were to gather.

A young man, in a sealskin cap, was getting ready, and seemed to be behindhand. It is a dreadful evidence of the demoralizing effects of Heterodoxy that punctuality seems to be lost in exact proportion to the prevalence of the heresy. Schismatics seem never to be in time. In front of a permanent platform stood a square locomotive pulpit, which, I know not why, reminded me of a portable gallows or guillotine. A lower platform was in front of this, and on the latter the breathless youth flung a four-legged table and a cane-bottomed chair; flew with two brass candlesticks and a large soda-water glass of liquid into the pulpit, and then lighted up the gas all over the room. A black cat was present, and seemed to take great interest in the proceedings, only its nerves were shaken by the young man's impetuosity until it came and sat beside me, on the reserved seat, where it remained

throughout a great part of the proceedings, as demure as an Advanced Unitarian himself.

Two ladies, who looked harmless enough, had entered and passed on to the platform without my taking much notice, when suddenly myself and the cat were startled simultaneously by a tremendous noise. The lady—one of them—had begun to play upon a most uncompromising harmonium, which I had not seen, and the player did not quite know how to manage. She fired off a series of hymn tunes, of which I could not understand the meaning until later on in the evening; and, if she will excuse my saying so, she gave me the idea that her fingers, every now and then, got into a knot, or entangled in the keys, while the instrument creaked and groaned as if conscious of being ill-used. By way of climax she thundered out Haydn's Hymn to the Emperor, and that seemed to be the signal for Mr. Antill, the officiating minister of the evening, to come in. He drew aside a curtain at the back of a platform, and was in and had given out the anthem, "I will Arise," before I knew what he was about. We did arise, and so did the voices of the Advanced Unitarians. They sang like Stentors, and even the ventose harmonium could not drown them, though it did its best.

By way of commencement, Mr. Antill, who was an elderly gentleman in clerical dress, read Matthew x., with frequent comments in passing; but as these comments all reappeared in the subsequent sermon, it is

not necessary to transcribe them here. Some hymns were sung, and a regular Form of Prayer gone through from a printed sheet, which the congregation held in their hands, but were not polite enough to allow me to see. It was a sort of compilation from the Church of England Prayers, with, of course, all the Trinitarian passages omitted. I fancy it was much the same as Mr. Voysey's Ritual. I recognised, at all events, a special prayer for literary men and editors, which I know occurs in the St. George's Hall Litany:—

"We ask that it may please Thee to enlighten and assist all literary persons, men of science, teachers, and editors of the public press with Thy truth. Bless and prosper all schools and seminaries of sound learning, and hasten the time when all shall know Thee from the least even to the greatest. Amen."

Another hymn introduced the sermon, and then I found that the lady who presided at the gasping harmonium had been giving us a sort of overture, in which the different tunes we were to sing had been introduced, "preluding the way in which our thoughts should wander," as some poet says.

Reading over again the portion of St. Matthew, tenth chapter, down as far as the verse—"Freely ye have received, freely give," Mr. Antill said we had little of the character of the Apostles given us in the New Testament, except what might be inferred from their conduct; but, after all, conduct was a better criterion of character than words. Let us, he said,

investigate the duties they had to perform; their characters would be shown in the way they did it.

With regard to the position of Jesus and the Apostles, the Jews were at that time subject to the Romans, whose laws were widely different from their own. The Jews considered their own laws perfection; and some persons expected that a Redeemer would come who should deliver them from their captivity. Christ was born "in a mysterious kind of a way," and some thought he was to be the King of the Jews. "Of this man," little was known until He was thirty years of age, and on this little no reliance could be placed. There was nothing against Him in the accounts which had been received into the Canon. We had not got the whole life of Christ. There were, however, certain other gospels omitted from "this book called the Holy Bible," in one of which it was asserted that Christ had miraculous power from his very infancy; and that, on one occasion, a boy, who pushed against Christ accidentally, was struck dead by Him. The compilers of the Canon evidently thought this was better omitted. So it was with regard to the Apostles; we had not their whole lives. We had, in fact, very little.

They left their "businesses" to follow Christ. Some were fishermen, some makers of nets (*sic*). Matthew was a publican—a position which was not desirable. In fact, Mr. Antill added, summarily, "there was not a respectable man in the whole lot."

It was just as in David's time: all those who were in debt or disgrace cast in their fortunes with Him; so Christ was surrounded by ignorant men, and men the reverse of respectable.

What did we find were their motives for joining Him? Why, all expected to gain something. They were distinctly told that, if they left their homes and families they should have tenfold more in this world, and in the next, life everlasting. They were men who had everything to gain and nothing to lose. They preferred an easy life of preaching to a hard one of fishing. "Follow me," said Christ, "and I will make you fishers of men!"

They were to preach that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand. They were not, that is, to benefit mankind, but simply to get adherents for the new kingdom. They were told to heal the sick and raise the dead. Now these assumed miracles could only be pretended to be done in the midst of an ignorant people. If they ever had been performed, why were they not still? We were told the age of miracles was past; "but," said the preacher, "I want to know when they ceased, and what authority there is for saying so." However, they were to go and get adherents for this new and happy kingdom, where God alone should rule, and where these Apostles should be governors of the Twelve Tribes. They were to go only to the Lost Tribes. There were to be no foreigners, and that was what the Jews were still

desiring. "What I object to," said Mr. Antill, "is the utter selfishness which marked their mission. They were only to have one coat and *stick*. They were to put no money in their purses; and then they were to go and tell people if they did not give them everything they wanted they were as bad as the people of Sodom." If they had been—as they were nowadays represented—sent to preach repentance without money and without price, the case would have been different; but they were taken from hard work and told to go to the best houses in the cities to which they travelled, and if the householder refused them they were to curse him; if he received them their peace was to rest upon him.

After some time these men began to inquire more particularly into the new kingdom. Two of them sought high positions in it; and the rest were very angry with them for doing so. They were promised Twelve Thrones on which they should sit and judge the Twelve Tribes. "If there is any Christian here who can show me that these men did not work from interested motives," said the preacher again, "I shall be very much obliged to him."

But in the sequel what sort of men did they show themselves? Rank cowards. Directly Christ got into difficulties, they all ran away. Now we could scarcely believe that if Christ had done miracles among them, they would have adopted this course. They were not mere Disciples, or Learners; they were

Apostles who, having been educated by Christ, were qualified to be sent forth to instruct others. But when Peter was recognised "by his brogue in the justice-room," he swore he knew nothing about Christ. "We are told," he said, "to have respect for Peter," but he was a great coward. We can place no dependence on such men. It was evident they did not believe him. The predictions of the crucifixion which we find in the Gospels must have been written after the event, because it took them by surprise. They did not understand the Kingdom of Heaven themselves; how could they go and preach it? What is this Kingdom of God, of which we are at one time told that it is "within us," at another that it is a Happy Place elsewhere; and yet again that it is in this world? No reliance can be placed on the history or the teaching of these Apostles. We want salvation—yes: but it is salvation from sin and its consequences; salvation from poverty, which shall prevent some of us from starving while others are rolling in wealth; salvation from the difficulties and troubles with which we are surrounded. This will never come while we believe that Christ loves us; it will only arrive when we have learnt to work out our own salvation with fear and trembling.

Such are the outlines of a long sermon which was delivered quite extempore; and, at its conclusion, the preacher abruptly left his pulpit, took his two brass candlesticks and tumbler with him, and came down to

the table on the lower platform. The discussion was now to commence. This preacher, at all events, was no occupant of Coward's Castle. I could not help wondering how our curate would like to come down from his rostrum into the chancel, and let the congregation 'argufy' with him on his previous twenty minutes' original composition!

First of all, an exceedingly weak opponent on the Christian side got up, and attempted to define the Kingdom of God, though he could not give the references he quoted. I do not for one moment suppose Mr. Antill "laid on" this gentleman or any of those who followed, but really the opposite case could not have broken down more lamentably had they been in collusion. Why does not the Christian Evidence Society send some really good man to cope with these people in their own strongholds? I fancy from his manner this first speaker must have been a Dissenting preacher of some very humble denomination.

Then rose up a modest gentleman in the audience who required a good deal of persuasion to get him to the platform, and who, on being asked the customary question as to which side he took, said, "No side at all," and moved the Advanced Unitarians to much mirth by his reply. But he had a good deal to say, and said it well. I should mention that the congregation, which had been very small at first, had now grown into quite a large one. The penny seats at the back were well filled, and our more aristocratic ones

very fairly so. The cat who had sat by my side up to this point, seemed to feel that her presence was no longer necessary to keep up appearances, and quietly went to sleep on a lady's lap who sat next to me.

The speaker, who was a stranger, and had merely dropped in *en passant*, confessed that he was disappointed. First of all he heard a service which was nothing more or less than a plagiarism from the Church of England prayers; then came a lecture, the object of which seemed to be to throw overboard Christ and the Apostles. As to what the last speaker had said on the orthodox side, he confessed he did not understand him. If God ruled the heart, why did He not keep men from sin? If they were born in sin, sin had become nature to them, and it was no use washing in blood (here the Advanced Unitarians discovered for the first time that they had got a friend, not a foe, in this humorous gentleman, and applauded him vociferously). "What *is* sin?" he went on to ask; "and how could Christ expiate sin in advance? I can't tell how He does it!" There was, of course, a great field for eloquence on the subject of sin and expiation; but what did it all amount to? (again he was vigorously applauded). He had said his say. He only objected to the singularity of the Church Service. The end of the proceedings appeared to him much better than the beginning. He hoped to come again.

Mr. Antill said in explanation, that "after the manner which men called heresy" they worshipped

God. They only occupied the Hall from October to April, so that their tenancy would soon cease until the autumn.

Then got up a vigorous gentleman whom I had noticed for his stentorian singing. He said that he was partly a Radical and partly a Conservative. He had "conserved" the ideas of God and a future life, the excellence of the character of Jesus, with the good tendencies of the Bible and the teaching of the Apostles. It might be that the majority of the Apostles were uneducated, but Luke (whom he gratuitously elected to the Apostolate) was not. He also believed that Jesus Christ was an educated man. It was a question whether the High Priest himself was not his father. At all events, when only twelve years of age, He was able to argue with the doctors in the Temple. Therefore His influence was not wonderful; but, to be influenced, the men themselves who were so influenced must have had *something in them.* Their ideas were crude at first, but they soon became imbued with the "semi-sacred" character of Jesus. That was how he regarded Him; not as God—that was too ridiculous to be talked about. God was, he thought, an "atmosphere," or an "essence" like electricity. Christ was clever, good, and—he had no doubt—beautiful. He believed Christ had that same kind of manly beauty which Garibaldi had, which gave him the power of leading men. There was, he believed, this personal charm of

appearance and manner on the part of Jesus which was so "catching," but, he repeated, there must have been something akin in these Apostles. Originally they might have been rude, but they must have been gifted with genius. "I am nothing," said this speaker, in some fine nervous sentences, "unless I am a red-hot Radical and Republican; and I take these Apostles as delegates from the people. Neither they nor Jesus knew their own minds at first. They were enthusiastic, and enthusiasm is the insanity of genius. They tried a worldly kingdom first, but this would not do. Then the idea was changed to a spiritual kingdom, and they grumbled and asked, "What are you going to do for us?" Judas was the most practical of them all. He would have been the Bismarck of the new kingdom. He didn't want money. He sold His Master for eighteen shillings when he might have had eighteen hundred pounds. It was only his practical mode of appeal against the disruption of his dreams of a temporal kingdom! This speaker thought the Twelve Apostles interesting and poetical. They wanted to go in for a public career, but they got tinctured with the teachings of Jesus, and went "mooning about holding prayer-meetings." Against this Judas rebelled. He said to Christ, "*Be* a Garibaldi. Go ahead. I'll see you through it." Time was up; and this, the best of all the speakers, though apparently, like the rest, a working man, could only repeat that he thought the

Apostles interesting characters, "even if not the most worthy in the world."

A simple man, the best on the Christian side, succeeded, and claimed *fairness* for the character of Christ. He empannelled these twelve men as a jury to test His claims. The speaker went through several of the list *seriatim*, and examined their qualifications. First there was John. He was not scientific, but he was pre-eminently a good man; and a good man readily detects imposture. So too there was his brother James—named the Just; a name he would not have earned but by similarity of character. The Zebedee family could not have been so poor either, for when they were called they left their ships "with the hired men." Then there was Peter; and from what we knew of his character, we were quite sure he was not a man to be gulled. There was Matthew; and Matthew was a publican—not in the sense the *National Reformer* took it, that he kept a ginshop, but he was a collector of taxes; and if you wanted a hard-headed man, he said, you could not do better than select somebody in the tax-gathering line. There was Philip, a regular materialist, who said "Show us the Father, and it sufficeth us." Then came Thomas the sceptic—and so on. Now this jury believed the claims of Christ. They believed that He was what He represented Himself to be.

It was nearly ten o'clock, and proceedings had commenced about half-past seven. Up to this point

they had been dignified and orderly—heterodox, of course, but still in keeping with the gravity of the question. At this point they degenerated from dialectics into low comedy, and I left without waiting for Mr. Antill's reply. Before I did so a gentleman, who was evidently of the Jewish persuasion, told us—as far as I could gather from his exceedingly Hebraic pronunciation—about Abraham (*sic*) being burned in the fiery furnace and Daniel thrown to the lions, adding some remarks about Christ's father being a "clergyman," which were meant to be funny, but only reached the point of being indecent. Another man with a falsetto voice followed in the same strain, which did not interest me, so I left him speaking.

I was sorry to have my previous good impressions of the decorum which prevailed even in so unmistakably heterodox a gathering dissipated by the uncouth and silly antics of this final brace of buffoons: the last remark that offended my ears as I went out, but which, I am sorry to say, gave unlimited delight to the audience, was a squeak on the part of the husky man, to the effect that the Apostles were simply "cadgers."

I hesitated for some time whether I should name the Gower Street folks "Aggressive" Unitarians, instead of calling them by their self-chosen appellation. I decided to let the latter stand. There is an Ishmaelitish tone about the proceedings of the subterranean dancing academy, however, which is scarcely

philosophical, and certainly not to my taste. This is discernible even in the very announcement which accompanies their lecture-list:—

"Many people think we cannot have any reasonable objection to Christian doctrines which has not been satisfactorily answered, nor any argument against the truth of the Bible, that has not been refuted.

"The following illustration will, we think, dispel this illusion:—

"How is it the 'Glad tidings of Salvation,' which cost so much to propagate, are rejected, while a general invitation to a free dinner or supper would be accepted by thousands? Because the Christian doctrine is untrue; it is not even taught by Christ in the Gospels, but only by Paul and the other writers of the Epistles.

"It cannot be true, for experience proves every transgressor personally suffers for his sin, and though God forgives much, He could not do so if He accepted an atonement. Moreover, if it were possible for Jesus to expiate crime, it must be obvious God must then forgive the sinner, whether he believes in Christ or not. Faith in Christ is therefore worthless. If such arguments as these can be refuted, Christians having the ability should attend our meetings, and do so. It is not enough to say 'Objections have been answered;' the faith must continue to be defended, or it will soon be rejected. This fact alone proves it is not of Divine origin."

NOCTES SOCRATICÆ.

EVENINGS WITH THE LONDON DIALECTICAL SOCIETY.

I.

A Debate on Cremation.

Any account of Heterodox London which should fail to include a notice of the Dialectical Society would indeed be like the tragedy of Hamlet minus the *rôle* of the Royal Dane. Unimportant in mere numerical strength—that most fallacious of all tests—and not recognised among the "regular" Societies, the Dialecticians elect to become the embodiment of "irregularity." Their boast is that they are secular in the fullest sense of the word; self-emancipated from those "rules" which to other Societies are possibly a badge of respectability, but certainly a source of restraint. Consequently, their very first principle is freedom of discussion; and the only pledge required of members is that, in the true spirit of the dialectic method, they would accept nothing as proved except as the conclusion of a logical argument. In the forefront of their prospectus, issued some six or seven years ago, they put the following quotation from Professor Bain:—

"The essence of the dialectic method is to place,

side by side with every doctrine and its reasons, all opposing doctrines and their reasons, allowing these to be stated in full by the persons holding them. No doctrine is to be held as expounded, far less proved, unless it stands in parallel array to every other counter theory, with all that can be said for each. For a short time this system was actually maintained and practised; but the execution of Socrates gave it its first check, and the natural intolerance of mankind rendered its continuance impossible. Since the Reformation, struggles have been made to regain for the discussion of questions generally—philosophical, political, moral, and religious—the two sided procedure of the law courts, and perhaps never more strenuously than now."

This they follow up with the annexed statement of their object and method. The whole prospectus is too long to print, but it is fairly summarized in these sentences:—

"The London Dialectical Society will have effected much good, if, by its means, persons are made to feel that to profess a belief on a disputed question with regard to which they refuse to examine the evidence, is an act altogether unworthy of a rational being; and that the only method of arriving at truth is by submitting one's opinions to the test of unsparing and adverse criticism. Freedom of speech and thought are, not less than personal freedom, the natural birthright of all mankind. To refrain from uttering

opinions because they are unpopular, betokens a certain amount of moral cowardice,—engendered by long-continued persecution. To state fearlessly the truth, or what we believe to be the truth, even though it be held only by a few, is the act of all who consider the exercise of private judgment a right, and the extension of human knowledge a duty. But society generally has not yet reached such a state of progress as to allow individuals to give expression to their honest and deliberate convictions, without inflicting upon them penalties more or less severe. The effect of this is to deter men from expressing opinions, which might be corrected if erroneous, and accepted if true. In the London Dialectical Society, however, not only will no person suffer obloquy on account of any opinion he may entertain or express, but he will be encouraged to lay before his fellow-members the fullest exposition of his views. Even if this were not so, it is to be hoped that members of the Society will possess sufficient moral courage to disregard, in the interests of truth, that social tyranny—the weapon of ignorance and intolerance."

> "They are slaves who will not choose
> Hatred, scoffing, and abuse,
> Rather than in silence shrink
> From the truth they needs must think.
> They are slaves who dare not be
> In the right with two or three."

The Dialectical Society's Report on Modern Spiritualism is a good instance of the freedom and fairness

with which they "tackled" an unpopular subject; and rumours from time to time reach the outer world of papers read by Lord Amberley, Mr. Bradlaugh, Dr. Drysdale, and others, on subjects usually tabooed by common consent, in which it is said—and I have reason to know, with truth—that the fair sex bear their part in a very outspoken manner indeed.

The Dialecticians have led rather a nomade life, having first of all been quartered in George Street, Hanover Square, where they occupied the rooms of the Medical Association for their debates on alternate Wednesdays. After some wanderings, they seem to have settled down at No. 1, Adam Street, Adelphi, nearly opposite the Junior Garrick Club; and there, at fortnightly intervals, gather the boldest spirits of London to discuss all things in heaven, on earth, and under the earth. It was at the last of those three divisions I selected a subject, when I determined to renew my old acquaintance with the Dialectical Society, to hear a paper read by Mr. G. de M. Soares, on the subject of "Cremation," which had surged up to the surface a short time since in Sir Henry Thompson's paper, answered by Dr. Holland, each in the *Contemporary Review*, and on which subject I had been given to understand Mr. Soares possessed some special knowledge. I found a full attendance of—I should say—a hundred people, the sexes pretty well divided, and many of the ladies being so young that one rejoiced to see them thus reversing the violation of

Bona Dea's mysteries. After some preliminary matters had been settled, Dr. Charles Drysdale was called to the chair, and Mr. Soares, who was evidently a foreign gentleman, read his paper.

The treatise, which was exceedingly able and exhaustive, dealt with the various arguments in favour of cremation over inhumation, and combated, with the greatest fairness, all the arguments that had been advanced against it. The sentimental and religious objections he dealt very gently with, and argued the question on its merits as preventing that poisonous malaria which resulted from surface burial, and the equally deleterious result to sewerage and springs when the grave was deep. He bristled with statistics, and abounded in felicitous illustration, honestly stating that he was intentionally guilty of plagiarism through a wish to quote all possible authorities in favour of his subject rather than miss one argument through straining after originality. The following is the paper *in extenso*:—

"Civilization in its active sense is but a synonym for reform; and of all kinds of reform none are more truly worthy of consideration than those affecting sanitary improvements. In this country, distinguished above all others for a tenacious adherence to old customs—no matter how absurd, injurious, or reprehensible—the progress of reform has always been slow. Yet if ever there was a subject calculated to arouse public attention and quicken the energies of

philanthropists or demand the consideration of the legislature, it is the pernicious custom of the interment of our dead as practised by us in common with all countries recognised as belonging to the category of civilized nations.

"I propose, therefore, without further preamble, first, to consider, in reference to this subject, whether a reform in the usual method of disposing of our dead is desirable, and, if it be, what change or improvement is the most advisable.

"Dialecticians will, I am sure, congratulate me on having been able to avail myself of the diametrically opposed, but valuable opinions of such eminent authorities as Sir Henry Thompson, and Mr. Philip H. Holland, M.R.C.S., and Medical Inspector of Burials in England and Wales. Sir Henry Thompson's attack on the present system and his advocacy of Cremation received such general publicity, appearing as they did in the *Contemporary Review*, whence they were copied into many of our daily journals, that I should not have thought it worth our while this evening to discuss the evils of burial had not Mr. Holland, in the next number of the *Review*, denied their existence. Now on this subject Mr. Holland must surely be held as an authority; but, on the other hand, we must regard his *expressed* opinions with considerable caution, inasmuch as, in his position of Medical Inspector of Burials, it was clearly his duty to have thoroughly investigated the subject from the

commencement of his inspectorship; and, if he had become convinced of the necessity of reform, it was as clearly his duty to have advocated it long ago, and not to have left it to Sir Henry Thompson, as an *amicus curiæ*, to expose his shortcomings by implication.

"In fact, he says, 'I submit that I have a fair claim to a hearing, that I may try and show that much of my work during the last twenty years has not been misdirected, and that I, and those with whom and for whom I have acted, have neither induced nor encouraged an enormous waste of public money in establishing new and large cemeteries.'

"Having thus exposed the probable bias of his opinions, let us cautiously examine his statements. He says:—'The real danger from a well-situated and well-managed cemetery, large in proportion to the number of its burials, is not greater than from a well-managed railway, and it would be hard to find in either any but the very rarest instances of injury sustained, except from palpable mismanagement.'

"The simple fact is, according to his opinion, that it is not so much the burial as the *unburial* of the dead that is dangerous, including, of course, in that term the disturbance of soil impregnated with putrefying, but not yet putrefied animal matter; but that in cemeteries of ample size there is as little temptation and no excuse for incurring this risk, as that of placing in the soil a larger quantity of putrescible matter than the earth and the plants it bears will completely

absorb, or than the air carried down by rain or dew will thoroughly decompose.'

"So far, although he is not quite right, he is not very far wrong; but the question is, what would be the dimensions of a cemetery large in proportion to the number of its burials? And are such cemeteries obtainable in such countries as ours? I answer, most unhesitatingly—No! It is only a question of time for every waste spot to be utilized for food-production or for shelter, and, even as a question of economy, I may say that devoting tracts of land to the burial of our dead, large in proportion to the burials—so large as really to obviate the *perceptible* and traceable pernicious effects—is an affair involving enormous expense, which cannot fail to increase as time goes on and land becomes more and more valuable. But, says Mr. Holland, these cemeteries ought to be utilized as ornamental places like the parks and squares of London. In that case we should pay very dearly for very melancholy ornaments; and when he further states 'that it would be in the highest degree desirable, if not indispensably necessary, that large open spaces should be reserved for health and exercise,' he surely ignores the fact that although the existence of large cemeteries may not be perceptibly injurious, in reality they are so, and therefore exercise in burial places cannot fail to be the very reverse of healthy. We do not wish to be poisoned in the gardens of our estate. Parliamentary reports of the last few years tell us that

these cemeteries, of which Mr. Holland must have been Inspector, are becoming rapidly as bad as the pest-breathing graveyards they supplanted. In one especially, in the North of London, although the surface is pretty well kept, yet underneath it is one mass of corruption in the parts occupied.

"It was indisputably demonstrated before Select Committees of the House of Commons nearly thirty years ago, by such eminent authorities as Dr. Prout, Dr. James Copland, and Dr. Chambers, that burial of the dead in spots surrounded by the living was most injurious to the health of the community, and invariably productive of low fever of a typhoid character; and the result was that thenceforward the manufactories of pestilence and disease were removed a few miles from the large centres of our population, in entire disregard of the fact that our population doubles itself every thirty years, and must inevitably overlap these projected cemeteries just about the time when they would be filled with as many dead bodies and as much virulent poison as they could conveniently hold. Extraordinary as it may appear as a fact, it may be stated that, like the railways in America, the large cemeteries of England induce the settlement of population around them; who cluster there perhaps because the land is cheaper, ignoring that the locale is the most dangerous they can choose. This is not a matter of conjecture—it can be proved *now*, as it has been proved over and over again, that certain gases are

evolved from the decomposing bodies, which act as deadly poisons on the human constitution. Sir Henry Thompson tells us that 'the process of decomposition affecting an animal body is one that has a disagreeable, injurious, often fatal, influence on the living man, if sufficiently exposed to it. Thousands of human lives have been cut short by the poison of slowly decaying, and often diseased, animal matter. Even the putrefaction of some of the most insignificant animals has sufficed to destroy the noblest.' Sir Benjamin Brodie, whom no one can suspect of exaggeration, went further than this, and explained to a Parliamentary Committee that the gas evolved from putrid bodies is chiefly sulphuretted hydrogen, a gas so noxious and deadly that the admixture of only *one* part of it with five hundred parts of atmospheric air is almost immediately fatal. It was also proved beyond the shadow of doubt by many competent and scientific witnesses, before the same Committee, that the escape of this noxious effluvium from the surface of burial-places *is*, despite of Mr. Holland's opinion to the contrary, under any circumstances inevitable; and that these emanations are of a most offensive and malignant character, producing various ailments, lowering the tone of health, and causing headache, diarrhœa, dysentery, sore throat, low fever, and other sicknesses. These exhalations may be imperceptible to the smell, but they are not on that account less certainly existent and injurious. Even

lead coffins cannot prevent the escape of these terrible gases from decomposing bodies, for they are evolved with such force and in such quantities, that the lids of such coffins, notwithstanding the atmospheric and earth pressure, become convex and are ultimately burst open. The more deeply a body is placed in the earth the more slowly will putrefaction proceed, but none the less surely. Sir Henry Holland explained admirably how impossible it is for us to change the ultimate results of the workings of Nature. She will have her own way—we may retard or change the process, but sooner or later our bodies must resolve into their original elements; these are water, carbonic acid, and ammonia, and the mineral constituents more or less oxidized, elements of the earth's structure, lime, phosphorus, iron, sulphur, and magnesia. 'To this end we must come,' and, in the process, it matters no jot how slowly or in what manner we solve the problem: these poisonous gases must be generated, and layers of earth, many feet in thickness, can no more intercept the transmission of gases to the surface than they can by their density prevent the infiltration of water. The one ascends, the other descends, through a permeable medium. The gases must, in the course of time, inevitably pass into the atmosphere, and even if the gas be impeded from coming to the surface by the depth of the soil, there is only the greater danger of its escape by deep drainage, and the pollution of springs. Twelve-thirteenths of every

dead body must dissipate, that is, pass off in the form of a most offensive gas, many thousand times the bulk of the body which produces it, and it is impossible to prevent these exhalations from entering into the lungs, and, consequently, corrupting the blood of every human being exposed to their pernicious influence, unless, indeed, vegetation completely absorbed them, as suggested by Mr. Holland. But to effect this desired consummation the vegetation on the spot would require to be many hundred times greater than is possible in our cemeteries. So there Mr. Holland's defence of cemeteries entirely breaks down. And who shall pretend to fathom the secret workings of these poisons when once they have escaped from their producing agencies? Who shall say that the putrid exhalations of decaying animal matter are confined to the source whence they sprang?

"Healthy persons exposed to the atmosphere which surrounds receptacles of the dead have often either contracted specific diseases or suffered various derangements of their general health, which morbid poisons are known to produce; its effects are varied both in kind and in intensity, from mere headache or nausea to the most violent form of pestilential fever. This is peculiarly noticeable in old cathedral towns and in country parsonage-houses which adjoin churches, where, if anywhere, vegetation is likely to be particularly luxuriant. I may here pray you,

ladies and gentlemen, to believe that I am not making these statements without authority. Every word that I utter I have taken from my own articles, written years ago on the reports of the Parliamentary Committee, or else from a very able digest of them in the *Rectangular Review*, from which I have not hesitated freely to copy verbatim, seeing that it gives chapter and verse for its every statement. I plead entirely guilty to the charge of wholesale plagiarism and cribbing, for I care nothing for originality or eloquence so long as I can place the main and most important facts plainly before you.

"But to resume. The practice of reopening family graves and vaults for the purpose of interring members of the same family close to each other, and thereby permitting the gas of bodies as yet undecomposed to escape immediately to the surface, is dangerous in the extreme, and numerous instances can be adduced of mourners being suddenly stricken with overpowering sickness at the side of reopened graves.

"We learn from Haller that a church was infected by the exhalations of a single body, and that this corpse occasioned a very dangerous disease in a whole convent. Raulin relates that sensitive persons have become ill and faint after having been attacked with cadaverous exhalations when walking in the vicinity of Père la Chaise.

"Mr. Chadwick, in his report, mentions that in the case of the predominance of smell from a burial-

ground, the immediate consequence ordinarily noted is a headache. These are high authorities, and there are many others to testify to analogous facts of this nature.

"A military officer of undoubted position and standing states that, when his men occupied as a barrack a building two miles from a burial-ground in Liverpool, the smell was at times, when the wind blew from that direction, most offensive, and that he and his men suffered consequently from dysentery.

"In Minchinhampton, in 1843, some of the soil of a burial-ground was sold for manure for the neighbouring gardens. Wherever it had been taken fever and death followed, and the place was literally decimated.

"A similar incident is recorded of a town called Kelione, fourteen miles from Cairo. Mons. Pariset, President of a Commission sent by the French Government into Egypt to inquire into the cause of the plague, attributes it to emanations from buried human bodies.

"We may hide corruption from our sight, and deem it, therefore, innocuous, but how fatally are we deceived? Mother Earth, like an awful Nemesis, arises sooner or later, and avenges her befouled and desecrated bosom by slaying the violators of her purity.

"The cholera, which takes its rise in India, is attributed by men of science to the evil of interment there, where the earth having imbibed the putrid sanies from millions of corpses has become one vast

hotbed of pestilential infection. Rome was healthy in the old days, but the burying of bodies has converted the smiling gardens of the Campagna into the desolate and abandoned plains which, breathing disease, surround the Eternal City. Sir James Murray proved beyond doubt that negative electricity pervaded this vast laboratory of malaria, and drew away the positive electricity from the living creatures in immediate contact with the earth and air of that fatal and extended trough or galvanic pile afforded by a graveyard.

"Thus far I believe I have shown the necessity of reform by demonstrating the dangers to which our present system of disposing of our dead inevitably exposes us.

"Is it necessary to dwell upon the other evils of the system? The whole aspect of things as they now are is shocking to pure taste and sensibility, a scandal and an outrage upon humanity. What with the ghastly and barbarous trappings supplied by the undertaker and his satellites, the vulgar ostentation so severely satirized by Charles Dickens and others, predominates more and more in these sacred rites, which in their spirit are most abhorrent of them. Seven millions are annually spent in the United Kingdom alone upon these mockeries and mummeries, not 'on the storied urn of monumental affection,' but wasted on silk scarves and brass nails, white napkins and velvet palls, feathers and flunkies, kid gloves and

gin for the monstrous mutes, black cloth and satin for the wanton worm.

"The pride, pomp, and circumstance of the funeral is a bitter jest, a biting sarcasm. How often have the slender shares of the widow and orphan been diminished in order to testify, and so unnecessarily, their loving memory of the deceased by display of plumes and silken scarves about the unconscious clay. Sir Henry Holland says that not a few deaths have been clearly traceable to the attendance at the burial-ground with uncovered head and damp-struck feet in pitiless weather at that chilling rite of sepulture. But I do not require to aid my case by such fatal instances as might be averted by umbrellas, comforters, and goloshes. It is strong enough as it is. I think I have proved reform in the matter of disposing of our dead to be desirable; it remains now for me to show in what direction improvement might be attained. Let me answer at once, By Cremation. I will not stay to consider the process of mummification, which after all but preserves the hideousness of death; nor will I stop to consider the Parsee method of placing the bodies of their dead upon a grill, as I have witnessed it at the Towers of Silence in Bombay, where the hawks and vultures pick off the flesh until the naked bones fall through the bars into the pit beneath, while the gorged and glutted cormorants slowly wing their way to the surrounding groves to digest their awful feast.

"I shall presently speak on the subject of sentiment, which I allow in the cases of mummification and the Parsee method to be a sufficient reason for their rejection; for the most brutal-minded must admit that it is awfully shocking to permit the bodies of those whom in life we have loved to be eaten after death, whether by birds, marine animals, or worms; and if only for this reason I would at once condemn the far-fetched idea which might be suggested by disposing of our dead by sinking them to the bottom of the sea—although on the grounds of expense and inconvenience this method would be equally objectionable.

"Imagine the cost of transporting our dead to the coast, shipping them in a sepulchral gondola. Realize the inconvenience to the mourners, who would be loth to leave their loved ones to the tender mercies of paid strangers. We need not stop to consider, nor will I ask you to picture to yourselves the nausea of the survivors nor the sea-sickness of the parson while the service was being read on board.

"No other method seems practicable but Cremation, which at least dispenses with the ghastly horrors of human bodies affording a feast to ravenous birds, fishes, or maggots. It appears to be the right thing from every point of view—sanitary, mythic, symbolic. Its history has a deep ethnic significance. I learn from a great authority on these matters that Cremation seems to have been altogether an Aryan (that is,

Japhetic) practice, hence it is that we and the Germans, who are Shemitic, are so careful to lay up our 'carcases in high places,' the Shemites having ever been reverentially careful of the body after death, stowing it away in caves and rocks until its resurrection.

"On the other hand, the Suranian (that is, Khamitic) Egyptians went wrong in this, as in all else, and seemed even to doubt the revivifying power of Isis if the body were not made incorruptible by pitch and resin. The Aryan practice, however, was, as I learn, that of Cremation, so that the system I advocate has at least antiquity to recommend it.

"It may not here be out of place to consider that in the disposal of the dead has originated the notions of Hell entertained by the Orthodox. We hear of weeping and wailing, where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched; and in mythology we find that vultures were inhabitants of Hades, and that their mission was to prey on the livers of the wicked. Weeping and wailing are intimately associated with funerals. Worms belong to Shemitic or Hebrew interments—Fire, to Aryan or Roman Cremation—and Vultures point to Persian and Parsee practice.

"Would it be to consider too curiously to suppose that the rhetorical necessity for a Heaven produced houris, harps, and happiness?

"The only utility of such speculations is to show on what frail foundations we rest our hopes and fears.

"But as to Cremation. The method I would propose would be this. The body, as usual, should be placed in a coffin of wood, and taken to the spot where the ceremony could be performed with all desired religious rites. It should then be placed, coffin and all, into a sort of oven, and the door securely fastened. The coffin should then rest on a sort of rack of iron bars, of which a section would be V-shaped, so constructed that flames could pass on all sides through the bars which would keep the body from falling into the furnace, and would collect the ashes in a small trough or groove at the bottom. Above the oven would rise a great shaft, like the chimneys of our factories, and beneath it should be a furnace ready lighted. Immediately the door was closed certain flues should be opened and others shut, so as to compel the flames and the great heat of the furnace to ascend through the resting-place of the coffin into the shaft. Sir Henry Holland tells us three and a half hours are required to consume a body: by the means I propose ten minutes would suffice to reduce the biggest man, the Claimant himself, to twenty or thirty ounces of ashes.

"The sulphuretted-hydrogen gas would be generated as usual. The deadly fumes would be evolved, but being highly inflammable, ere they reached the mouth of the shaft they would be consumed and converted into harmless or comparatively harmless air, which, at the altitude at which it emerged from the shaft

would be blown about to the four corners of the heavens and robbed of its power to hurt or to destroy.

"What now are the objections to this method—cost? We spend seven millions annually on our funerals, and Sir Henry Thompson calculates a profit of 800,000*l.* might be made by selling the ashes of our relations. But let us dismiss this objection, although untenable. Who can weigh money against health?—economy against Death? I believe Sir Henry is wrong. We would not sell our fathers' bones; and from ignorance we probably shall still continue our monstrous fooleries of horses and hearses, mutes and mummeries. The expense, if you please, shall be greater than ever. What of that? We shall buy lives. Can any price be too great? Where thousands die now thousands shall live then.

"Let us not stop to weigh lucre against love, but go on to consider the other objections.

"Says a clever writer in the *Echo*, 'Poison would with such a practice become secure from detection. Could the poisoner once secure the cremation of his victim, it is obvious that the traces of crime would be for ever lost in nine cases out of ten.' To this Sir Henry Thompson answers, that we might preserve suspicious stomachs! And the *Echo* retorts with truth, that it is really curious that a man so exceedingly able and gifted as this eminent surgeon can be so completely absorbed in the labours of his profession as to ignore the common motives and sentiments

of every-day practical life, up to the point of suggesting such as scheme as this, which would either prove a dead letter, and so nullify the proposed precaution against crime, or else turn hundreds of homes into arenas of the most furious contentions and indignant protestations. Let us just conceive any elderly relative, father or uncle, dying in London a little more quickly than was anticipated, and a brother or nephew telegraphing from Edinburgh or Liverpool—"Keep his stomach!" Or a married daughter in the next street signifying to the wife or doctor in attendance at the deathbed that she desires the little "precaution" concerning the viscera to be carefully observed before the body is committed to the furnace? Will anybody picture the state of general confidence and affection likely to subsist in that happy family-circle ever after? Or, on the other hand, if it be the medical attendant on whom would chiefly rest the onus of making the needful requisition. We should like to know how many people would engage the services of a gentleman who had twice or three times been known in families, where he had been the confidential adviser, to insist on the process in question, and desire that old Mrs. Robinson's inside should be preserved, lest poor dear old Mr. Robinson, who loved her as the apple of his eye, might be found to have administered arsenic in her tea; and to intimate by his request in the case of Miss Brown, that he thought her landlady Mrs. Green had put her out of the world. The thing

is absolutely impracticable. There can be no selection of bodies, between bodies to be eviscerated and not to be eviscerated, unless in the very few cases of strong and obvious suspicion entertained by the bystanders at the time of death. As we know by experience that such suspicions in a large percentage of cases of poisoning have only come in force after a considerable interval has elapsed, and the spectators have had time to compare notes, we fear that we must continue to hold our position that, so far as the danger of such crime is concerned, the plan of Cremation still lies open to strong objection, which Sir H. Thompson's most unpractical letter has done nothing to remove.

"That may be Sir Henry Thompson's fault and not the fault of Cremation. I believe this objection also to be untenable.

"Out of 500 deaths 499 are the result of natural and well ascertained causes. But to guard against the remote contingency coroners might be empowered to order in suspicious cases that a post-mortem examination should be made before the Cremation of the body. Suspecting persons would thus have an opportunity of satisfying their doubts by simply appealing, with evidence, to the Coroner, and satisfying him that there were prima facie grounds for inquiry.

"But after all, the discovery of poison existing in a body is not the only or even the main evidence on which poisoners are generally convicted. Witness

the case of Madeline Smith and many others of equal celebrity.

"But why waste words on a matter so burlesque as Poisoning! Do they talk of poisoning? Oh, strainers at gnats and swallowers of camels! From the fear of permitting the exceedingly few criminal poisoners to go undetected and unpunished after their victims have suffered, do they propose innocently, very innocently, to poison thousands as they do now? Would they murder deliberately in order to prevent the possible increase of crime, consequent on the fear of detection being diminished?

"Oh, logical objectors, change your strain! Yet with such an argument as this with which to crush the frivolous objection, Sir Henry Thompson condescends to talk of preserving suspicious stomachs. Other objections are as easily disposed of. One suggests that Cremation is contrary to Christ's command, 'Let the dead bury their dead,' a precept never literally obeyed up to the present time, and impossible of accomplishment except by spiritual agency. Another doubts also on religious grounds—if we have the right to cause dead bodies to be burnt, as God has promised to raise up the same bodies glorified, and we render the fulfilment of the promise impossible by our own act. I would suggest a problem for the ingenious casuistry of these timid because superficial objectors.

"Let them reconcile, if they can, the resurrection

of the Noble Army of Martyrs who perished at the stake, and the apotheosis of their corporeal elements at the time of their sufferings, when, disfranchised and disenthralled by the purifying action of the flames, the carnal matter had soared to the empyrean in the form of gas, free as air and widespread as the heavens. Cannot these gases again be collected, condensed, and resume their former structure and shape, the mould of which is surely held by the Great Author of our being, even as in the mystic teachings of Eastern narrative we are taught that Genii, when released from the Solomon sealed coffer in which they had been confined by the Monarch of Wisdom, could at their will, after soaring to the heavens in a column of vapour, re-enter their close tenement in their captive form.

"But, mischievous metaphor and Orientalism apart, these martyrs were burnt; and I pause for objectors to tell me how the promise that their identical bodies shall be raised and glorified can be fulfilled.

"Is it worth while to reiterate that whether we burn or bury, the body must and does return to the same its original elements, at once or in a few years' time, after which it passes through numberless changes and metamorphoses—or to ask who can stultify the fiat of the *All Mighty?*

"Many other equally cogent objections are made, and are as easily disposed of. Only one is really

formidable, or, indeed, worth our attention—it is that of Sentiment!

"We may argue, we may discuss, we may give logical reasons and plausible inducements, but against the whole armoury of rhetoric and eloquence Sentiment rears her head unmoved, and doggedly maintains her own.

"It is not altogether obstinacy, but sentiment; it is entirely beyond the control of self, nor is it dependent on volition. We are the creatures of circumstances, inasmuch as not only our actions, but our idiosyncrasies and the peculiarities of our sentiment and opinion are beyond the results of circumstances. This is finely expressed by Voltaire in his tragedy of Zaire:—

> 'Les soins qu'on prend de notre enfance,
> Forment nos sentiments, nos mœurs, notre créance.
> J'eusse été, près du Ganges, esclave à faux dieux,
> Chrétienne à Paris, Mussulman en ces lieux—
> L'instruction fait tout!'

"It is true. Our early education forms our sentiments, our habits, and our beliefs. Instruction does it all; and if that instruction is false our sentiments become prejudices—than which nothing holds a stronger mastery over vulgar minds. 'You are only safe and free,' says Shakspeare, 'provided you weed your better judgments of all opinions that grow rank in them. Be cured of this diseased opinion betimes, for 'tis most dangerous.' And, again, 'Raze out rotten opinion when false opinion, whose wrong

thought defiles thee. Let thy just proof repeal and reconcile thee.'

"We have just proof; and in order to raze out the rotten opinion, the false sentiment, the vulgar prejudice, we must educate.

"It is, I grant, infinitely more difficult to destroy prejudice by instruction than to create it by false teaching, and for that reason I do not expect to change the custom of centuries in a day. It may require the era of a generation to eradicate the absurdly grotesque and hideously morbid sentiment that makes men embrace disease and shudder at safety. What of that? Begin at once, and the task will be sooner accomplished. Show those ignorant minds that what they call 'leaving their beloved ones at rest' is in reality leaving them to become the most appalling thing in creation; that while they are rearing flowers over the tomb, hideous worms are sweltering in the black putrid jelly beneath, and crawling over the awful skeleton and grinning skull, which is literally breathing death into the vitals of the bereaved and tender mourners in return for their solicitudes. Picture to them the awfully horrible aspect—the revolting form which their ignorant prejudice has forced the once tenderly loved clay to assume. Tell them more. Tell them by their own act they have converted the form once so well beloved into a plague, a pestilence, an active scourge, a messenger of death.

"Prove this to them through your men of science, through the teachings of their trusted instructors—and the good, the philanthropic, and the benevolent, revolting at the thought that they who have devoted their lives to beneficence and charity will after death become agents of destruction and enemies of humanity, will pray that their bodies may be less barbarously cared for. St. Paul says, 'Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity, I am nothing.' The Apostle doubtless was contrasting fanaticism and the pure love; but were I antithetically to take his saying for my text, and contend that if we give not our bodies to be burnt we have not charity, and that though in our lives we may have been harmless well-wishers of our kind, and animated too with every principle of charity, not willingly doing a man wrong after death, by the disposition made of our bodies, we are made the cause of suffering, of lingering disease, and of death itself. So that, like Samson, who at his death slew more enemies than in his life, we, by the manner of our burial, whatever harm we may unconsciously have done our fellows while living is sadly and fearfully eclipsed at our demise.

"With the selfish and the brutal the argument to be offered for their consideration may be different, but the result will be the same. Careless what becomes of their own bodies when they have ceased to inhabit them, they will at least be anxious to escape danger and contagion while living. Self-

preservation is the first law of Nature, and it is only necessary that danger should be pointed out to make them anxious to avoid it. I believe that under the Burial Act we are *forced* to bury our dead. If that be so, the sooner that Act is repealed the better for the community at large and the civilization of the world.

"It is to be hoped that some of our Legislators will agitate this question, and protest against a continuance of the barbarism of our ancestors.

"It is monstrous that in the nineteenth century, despite the boasted progress of science and civilization, we should be eclipsed in our sanitary enactments by the practical wisdom and common sense of two thousand years ago.

"Cremation was practised by the Romans, and there is ample evidence that it was introduced by them into this country. That our then barbaric ignorance resisted innovation is not to be wondered at, but that we or other civilized nations should now, in this age of enlightenment, persist in our suicidal and murderous folly is inexplicable.

"The first thing to be done is to obtain leave to be sensible, to get an Act passed permitting the wise to dispose of their dead in a rational manner. Were this matter taken up as warmly as are many other social questions of the day, and year by year a measure proposed and persisted in, as in the case of the Jews' Disability, Electoral Reform, the Ballot, Mr. Miall's Church Dis-

establishment, or the Deceased Wife's Sister's Bill, popular feeling would be aroused, and repeated discussion would, like the continual dropping of water, wear away the rock of prejudice and ignorance which, I grant, *now* frowns upon it as a formidable obstacle, but which, in time, would irresistibly crumble under the teachings of reason and the considerations of safety.

"We shall hear, no doubt, that a few words in the Burial Service would have to be changed, that the practice of Incremation is heathenish and un-Christian; but the onus will lie on the other side to show what essential connexion exists between Christianity and burial, or between burning and heathenism. In the Spiritualists we shall have supporters, as I understand that the ghosts say that they rather prefer their old habitations to be burnt than not, as Cremation severs more completely and quickly than any other process the disagreeable connexion that continues, for a time, between the spirit and the clay.

"And surely support, active support, will come from the minds which yearn for healthy sentiment and true progress. However strong or instinctive may now be their dislike to Incremation, the moment they are convinced of the horrors following on interment they will perceive that, in reality, it is more soothing and consoling to know that the mortal remains of those we have loved and lost have been resolved into their original elements by fire—fire, the great purifier—fire, the master principle of life—fire, the essence of

the Creator—and thereby saved from the foulness of corruption and the feast of the worm; to know that the beloved form, once so fondly cherished and caressed, has been preserved from the loathsomeness of decay—the sweet features from the distortion of putrefaction. Would it not be a satisfaction to feel that death was disarmed of much that is terrible in its aspect—that the remains of our dearest friends could no longer become a poison, a pollution, and a pest? Instead of death being associated in our minds with what is unspeakably ghastly, foul and hideous, should we not rather dwell with calm delight on the thought that mortality had been cleansed and made Immortal by the Spirit of that Mighty Power which subdueth all things to itself; which can re-mould and reintegrate the corporeal atoms, or from the *néant* reproduce identity?

"Let this be preached from every pulpit, proclaimed in every family, and promulgated throughout the kingdoms of the earth—and in this most important item of reform let England lead the van."

Mr. Soares then read the following letter from a Spiritualist, which is interesting, as showing the views likely to be entertained on the subject of Cremation by that body:—

"Mr. G. de M. Soares,—I have read with interest your able Paper in support of the views of Sir Henry

Thompson, and in opposition to the fallacies of Dr. Holland.

"I have perused the contributions of those two gentlemen to the contemporary magazines, and I must say I came to the conclusion that Sir Henry is a pioneer of progress, and Dr. Holland a champion of vested interests in abuses of the most pernicious character. You have already made mincemeat of him, but I think that the process of commination may be carried a little further with advantage, and I think I see one or two lumps of fat which have escaped the chopper. I was in the Home Office when the Burial Acts were passed, and the reports on the old churchyards mostly passed through my hands. I think that if they were published, or such a selection of horrors as might easily be compiled from them, no one in their senses would ever again say a word against Cremation.

"I do not perceive a single sound argument in Dr. Holland's Paper in favour of the present system. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to retain it to utilize our present expensive cemeteries. The innocuous ashes and the funeral urns would still require a repository, and the cemeteries would be a convenient spot for the ceremony of Cremation. Then they would, if large, be infinitely more safe and serviceable than at present as recreation grounds and open spaces.

"The idea that we shall not be able, in some future time, to afford space for burial-grounds, when every

available spot will be required for food production, is simply chimerical; ere that time comes the atmosphere will no doubt be subjected to direct taxation and made to yield us food without the intervention of animal and vegetable laboratories.

"Dr. Holland disputes the danger of our present regulated system. He says the cases which from time to time come to light will be in their turn amended; but how much mischief will have been done before they come to light? The immunity secured by existing regulations is only comparative—Cremation would render it absolute.

"Dr. Holland is sure that we should never be willing to make merchandize of the ashes of our forefathers. But we should not be subject to the temptation. We should consign the fertilizing products of combustion as a free gift to the winds of Heaven, and the atmosphere enriched would return them gratuitously to Mother Earth.

"Dr. Holland thinks ocean burial would be preferable to Cremation. For my part, I think it would be as bad to be eaten by a shark as by a worm or by a vulture, and I should object to poisoning the waters as much as to poisoning the atmosphere. The plagues of the East have often been attributed to the horrible native practice of water-burial in the sacred rivers, and if the ocean were turned into a burial-ground, methinks our watering-places would no longer be attractive resorts.

"The non-detection of poison is alleged to be another argument against Cremation; but whoever relies on this fallacy must have forgotten that the spectroscope affords the very surest method of chemical analysis, and is equal to the detection of any vestige of poison in the process of Cremation.

"The prevalence of negative electricity in malarious places and cemeteries, and its quality of drawing off the positive electricity from living frequenters of these unhealthy spots, is not the only deleterious influence which emanates from them.

"The popular notions that cemeteries are ghost-haunted I verily believe to be founded on fact. I have evidence of it, which carries conviction to my mind. I have the evidence of a clergyman friend, a most satisfactory medium, who, contrary to the advice of invisible counsellors, visited a cemetery, and was subsequently haunted by the dark spirits who were attracted by the light of his mediumistic torch, and who subsequently caused him great trouble and annoyance.

"And I can adduce the extraordinary evidence of Mrs. Anderson, who was haunted by the ghost-squadrons of the Germans slain during the late war, and who were able to poison the atmosphere of her house by sulphuretted hydrogen, which she believed they drew from their festering corpses.

(Signed) "T. Herbert Noyes."

Then commenced the debate: but the misfortune was that all the Dialecticians and most of their visitors (who are courteously invited to take part in the discussion) seemed possessed with a common desire to be burned. Miss F. Fenwick Miller, a very young lady who spoke most lucidly and eloquently, plunged at once into her somewhat ghastly subject, and detailed the ancient modes of sepulture and incremation respectively. Christians had, in later ages, through a sentimental emotionalism, thought to keep the particles of their friends' bodies; but this was simply an impossibility. She added some very grim details indeed connected with the examination of ministers and officials under the commission of 1842, when the sexton of St. Sepulchre's Church told how, in carting away rubbish therefrom, somebody had knocked off the head of his—the sexton's—father, and he almost had to come to fisticuffs to regain possession of the paternal relic. She also told—in voice most musical—the weird story of another sexton who wanted to steal the ring from the finger of a buried lady, and had to bite the finger to get it off, when the lady proved not to be dead by getting up and walking home. From this she argued Incremation would be at once more decent and safer.

Mr. Truelove, the publisher, next regaled us with the story of a gentleman who ordered in his will that his body should be consumed in one of the Imperial Gas Company's retorts; but his pious wishes were

frustrated through the Company declining to allow their retorts to be used for the purpose. A brief discussion followed as to the legal right to dispose of one's own body, which did not seem to be clearly established; and one lady held out hopes of an opposition, by saying she would rather be stifled than burned; but she was a lady of few words (*mirabile dictu!*), and did not push her objection. Mr. Rivolta, too, a friend of the opener, who felt strongly on the sentimental side of the question, was asked to state his views, but kept his sentiments to himself. The assembly was either too unanimous or the opposition too diffident. Mr. Leveson, a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion, threw a dash of humour into his speech by observing the appropriateness of the day —*Ash* Wednesday—to the particular subject in hand, and made what really seemed an excellent suggestion, as if by way of amendment—viz., that many of the objections to inhumation would be removed by the compulsory and constant use of quick lime at burials, so as to secure rapid decomposition. But his proposal did not seem to carry weight with it, and it really seemed, as he said, that the Dialectical Society had made up its mind to be burned, and nothing else would satisfy it.

A brother of the opener followed with two transparently fictitious objections, set up, like ninepins, for the purpose of being knocked down. (1) If all the world should become converted, like the Dialectical

Society, where should we get our subjects for anatomization? (2) There was, he said, an insuperable objection to doing away with the malaria in churchyards, which he took to be the source of ghost stories. He was a philanthropic man, and would not on any account have ghost-lore eliminated from our Christmas luxuries. A nameless gentleman opined that, in the balance of nature, plants absorbed much of the malaria generated by decomposing animal bodies, and would like statistics to show whether gravediggers were particularly ephemeral persons. Mr. Wilson, a humorous speaker, after descanting on the expense of funerals and giving a back-hander to the clergy, proposed that the Dialectical Society should then and there, as a band of brothers, pass a resolution expressing their willingness to be burned. One Mr. Smith followed in the same practical way. Let a Society be formed, and build a cemetery with a large hall, in which latter the coffin should be placed, and some religious service take place—the hall to open on such a vault or oven as the opener had suggested. He diverged into a long but interesting discussion on the nature of the resurrection body, and had to be recalled to the question. There were great cries for a Spiritualist to reply; and I only wonder I escaped having to speak on the clerical side, but they spared me. One gentleman rose on the transcendental side, and said that the spirit of a deceased person disliked to witness the process of putrefaction going on in the abandoned

body; the spirit would be much happier if the body were dissipated, and so the magnetic link between the two broken.

Altogether there was too little collision of opinion to make this a thoroughly representative dialectical discussion. The subject was characteristic, and the views of the speakers typically bold and novel; but their consensus made the proceedings savour of a Mutual Admiration Society, which is seldom the case in this arena of discussion.

As we lighted our cigars in the lobby, the prevailing opinion seemed to be that Mr. Soares ought to offer himself then and there for instant incremation; and that subsequently a company should be formed, with limited liability, for cremating the other members as they successively dropped off.

Miss Miller herself entertained the audience of the Sunday Afternoon Lectures shortly afterwards with her views on the subject of Cremation. After an elaborate *resumé* of the modes of disposing of the dead in ancient times, she added—

"Cremation continued in use among the Romans until the fourth century of the Christian era, when it was abandoned, from an idea that the same corporeal body left by the departed soul was to be raised in its physical identity, from the dead to future life, an idea now no longer tenable by intelligent persons." If, extending the province of her researches, Miss Miller had investigated the funereal rites of the New World

by the light of archæological discovery, she would have found that in the extinct civilizations of Mexico, of Central America, and of the vast expanse from Panama isthmus to the southern Andes, where these bar the entrance to the aboriginal territories abutting on Patagonia, an immense array of facts proves incontestably the prevalence of Cremation at periods very long anterior, and reaching down to the latest time of its adoption in what is, by mistake, still called the Old World. Latterly the insanitary aspects of burial, and the disgusting obscenity with which the dead have been disturbed from their resting-places (?); the growing necessity not alone for the utilization of land, but also for the restoration to the soil of those elements of fructification which the bones contain, and which must, sooner or later, however we fight against the inevitable, return to the uses distinctly assigned them by nature: with truer conceptions of the duty of the living to the living as well as of the sentiments of respect, of reverence, of love for the memory of the dead, have led to a revival of the question, What is the most perfect method of disposing of our deceased friends? The preponderance of argument Miss Miller showed to be in favour of the simplest, safest, and surest method; and in the circumstances in which we are now placed, with a population needing every practicable care for its health and physique, Cremation had in these respects the advantage over every other means hitherto suggested, while it was most in har-

mony with true sentiment, and, on the whole, the most economic.

As an instance of the practical character of the British mind, I found, immediately after the delivery of the discourses quoted above, that Cremation was a *fait accompli*, and a Society formed for its promotion. The following announcement appeared in the daily papers :—

CREMATION SOCIETY.—Cremation having now been performed with perfect success, a Society has been constituted on the basis of the following declaration, which has been influentially signed :—

"We disapprove the present custom of burying the dead, and desire to substitute some mode which shall rapidly resolve the body into its component elements by a process which cannot offend the living and shall render the remains absolutely innocuous. Until some better method is devised, we desire to adopt that usually known as cremation."

All persons desirous of joining the Society or of promoting its objects are requested to send their names to the Secretary.

To make everything *comme il faut*, it only remains that Mr. G. de M. Soares and Miss Florence Fenwick Miller should immolate themselves *à la* Sardanapalus and Myrrha on the first pyre.

NOCTES SOCRATICÆ.

II.

The Dialectical Society on Marriage.

It is scarcely perhaps to be wondered at that, having determined to give a clear stage to all imaginable subjects, the Dialectical Society should show special favour to that of marriage, for this reason, that of all other topics of discussion, matrimony is that upon which men's mouths are most commonly sealed. Many a man who would not hesitate to overhaul the very bases of his religious belief, will think twice before he enters on a debate which might seem to entertain the possibility of polygamy or the eligibility of divorce. It is a domestic Heterodoxy before which the stoutest quail; but Dialecticians quail at nothing, not even at the Mrs. Caudle lecture which may not unreasonably be presumed to await Benedict Dialecticians at the close of their heretical discussions. Besides, these modern sophists are wise in their generation, wiser, the orthodox would say, than the "children of light." Downy liverymen of City Companies are in the habit of taking home with them, after a heavy dinner, a box of bonbons each, as a sop to the domestic Cer-

berus who is sitting up for them; but the Dialecticians do more than this—they let the ladies join in their debates, and—very softly indeed be it spoken—some of the raciest remarks I ever heard at the Dialectical Society have been made by ladies, all in the way of science and calm argument, of course. Let it not be for one moment supposed that I hint at the smallest levity or impropriety. I very rarely express my individual opinion, because I feel it my mission to describe and to report the opinions of others; but I thoroughly approve of the Dialectical method in this respect, and despise that mock modesty and squeamishness which prevent men and women from discussing together subjects which cannot be exhaustively dealt with by either sex separately, tabooing them on the score of an imaginary "impropriety."

The discussion of matrimonial topics seems to take an intermittent form, and to recur among our modern sophists in fixed and definite cycles. The first debate that made these philosophical Free Lances widely known to the outer world was that which ensued upon Viscount Amberley's tremendous paper on "Long Families." We, the uninitiated, were informed, whether rightly or wrongly I know not, that his lordship proposed that agricultural labourers should not be rewarded for bringing up a family of ten, but punished for having such a family. A lingering deference to the "proprieties" prevents one, inconsistently enough, perhaps, from going into the

minutiæ of this particular paper, or of one which succeeded on the subject of "Chastity." At this I was myself present, and it was then quite a new sensation for me to hear ladies discuss those hitherto proscribed subjects, and they were not elderly *bas bleus* either, but young ladies, married and unmarried. We shall have our Hypatias *redivivæ* yet!

Again at a succeeding debate, quite on the *toujours perdrix* principle—

Mr. Moncure D. Conway read a paper "On Marriage." Observing that the object of all serious reformers of the marriage-law should be to purge it of the least trace of the period when the wife was captured and held as a chattel, Mr. Conway said that our marriage-laws were as little adapted to the circumstances of modern society as the machinery of the age when they were constructed. Hence an appalling amount of crime was caused by the laws as at present existing. His idea of marriage was that of one man to one woman with the intention that it should be perpetual; and he certainly did not advocate that marriage should take place for a fixed time, as stated in Goethe's "Elective Affinities." In any moral or high sense, marriage could not be continued when the heart of it was dead. If a marriage were dead and corrupt, it should not last five minutes, much less five years. It was for the interests of society that those who had done wrong and wished to do right should be supported in the attempt; but to hold one

person bound to another, when he or she desired to escape, was simple slavery. Such coercion made the home a centre of evil influences, and such house could only demoralize every child brought up in it. It was a moral cesspool, sending out malaria and bad tempers into society. At present the only escape from ill-sorted unions was across the ruins of some person's character. Those who were too kind to ruin a partner's character remained without redress. There was also some reason to hope that the increased facility of divorce would check the rapid and excessive increase of population, each child being a difficulty added in cases of unhappy marriages. Although divorce was easy in Sparta, the Spartans were less licentious than other people, and it was often said that if divorce were easy, men would abuse it; but it was found that in Indiana, where there was the freest divorce, about double as many women as men, thirty-seven to nineteen, availed themselves of it; and Gibbon remarked that in Rome it was not the men but the women who wanted divorce. This was as might be expected, since a man when ill-mated, could have recourse to his business, politics, or club, and would only visit his home now and then, whilst the home was all-in-all to the wife, and consequently it was merely a prison if she had not a congenial partner. Countries with facile divorce laws were generally more prosperous than others. Witness the immorality and licentiousness of France caused by the Catholic marriage-law. Germany,

with the perfect freedom of divorce granted by Frederick the Great, was prosperous, and happy, and much better disciplined. The divorce laws of Prussia were almost identical with those of Indiana, U.S., and divorce was granted for desertion, cruelty, or for ineradicable repugnancy in Prussia. The result was that no country could show better moral statistics. He found that, in the long run, the chief objection to innovation in this matter would come from the sloths.

Dr. Charles R. Drysdale said, that the marriage-law of Europe, he believed, dated only from the reign of the Emperor Justinian, before which date Christianity had been found perfectly compatible with the Roman customs of facility of divorce called *usus*, and even with polygamy. John Milton, in his prose works in an article on the *Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, restored to the Good of both Sexes* (p. 15), after showing that unhappy partners would be better apart, explained that the indissolubility of marriage was caused by "the Canon Law, not consulting with Charity, the interpreter and guide of our faith, but resting in the mere element of the test." Percy B. Shelley, the most philosophical poet of the 19th century, was in favour of facility of divorce. Baron W. Von Humboldt maintained that the State "should entirely withdraw its active solicitude from the institution of marriage, and in its particular modifications rather leave it wholly to the free choice of the individuals, and the various contracts they may enter into

with respect to it." Mr. J. S. Mill, although admitting that there might be great *moral* delinquency in divorce in particular cases, thought that there should not be *much legal* difficulty in obtaining it. Taking these things into consideration, and regarding the number of unmarried women, the amount of unhappy marriages, and the prostitution of modern times, Dr. Drysdale thought that, in all probability, facility of divorce would do a great deal for society. It would also tend to check these large families, the curse of Britain and Germany, and thus to improve the condition of the poorer classes. Prostitution was often the result of unhappy marriage. He therefore begged to support Mr. Conway in his views on this question. If women had the franchise, he felt persuaded that the matter would be soon settled.

Then the ladies had their say:—

Miss Wallington said that, as far as marriage was concerned, it was impossible to obtain an equality between the sexes, because Nature had given man advantages in this matter.—Mrs. Smith (a visitor), agreed with many of the remarks that had been made in support of greater freedom of divorce, although she was not prepared to go to the extent that had been advocated.—Mrs. Johnston Robertson said that it was greatly to be regretted that women were not represented in the House of Commons, as it was not fair for men alone to make laws to govern both sexes. It

was clear that some alteration in the present law was necessary and that divorce should be freer, but she was not willing to go the length Mr. Conway advocated.—A lady did not quite understand why a previous speaker would give divorce for drunkenness, and yet not allow it in cases of bad temper.—Mrs. Sims said that, whatever alterations might be made in the law of divorce, marriage would never have the happy effect it should have until the tastes and culture of both men and women were altered and improved. The basis of marriage was too often only transient appearances, while it should, in her opinion, be invariably grounded on intelligence.

Mr. Richard Harte too, one of the Council of the Society, read a paper on this delicate subject, which he has since published in the form of a pamphlet, with an appendix greatly exceeding in length the original treatise. Taking as his definition of marriage "That union of the sexes which is most in accordance with the moral and physical necessities of human beings, and which harmonizes best with their other relations in life," he endeavours to show that the form of marriage which answers to his definition was in savage times polyandry, founded on the practice of infanticide in the case of female offspring; in barbarous times polygamy, founded on the practice of treating women as property; and that the form proper to civilized times is monogamy, founded on the independence of women. He points out that prostitution is

the inevitable concomitant of polygamy; and monogamy implies, not only that no man should have several wives, but also that every man should have a wife. Our present form of marriage does not, he argues, fulfil the conditions of monogamy; and the only means of attaining them is the equal division of maternity among all women, and the limitation of the family of each. As at first, capture and afterwards purchase was the *fundamentum relationis* of marriage, so the independence and protection assured to women by advancing civilization make *love* the only fact upon which marriage by free contract can be based. He thus summarizes his Appendix:—

"After all, the burden of my song here, as in other instances, amounts to this: *Discard from your morality the fictions of capture and purchase, and take the fact of love as your criterion of right and wrong in the sexual relations of mankind.* And if this extremely 'mild' advice be likely to disturb 'the sanctity of the domestic hearth,' all I can say is, that the domestic hearth must have become an affair even more wretchedly venal, tyrannical, and contemptible than there is at present reason to believe it."

But perhaps the most original phase of Heterodoxy on this subject is that attained by Mr. Herbert Noyes, B.A., who read before the Society the paper I subjoin at length, which I was half tempted to christen "Mr. Noyes on the Elective Affinities," "Free Love," "Spirit Wives," or something of that

kind. But, not to appear to forget the gravity of the subject, I allow the reader to retain his own title, which is—

MATRIMONIAL RELATIONS AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

The statistics recently collected by Dr. Batillon in his elaborate article on "Marriage" in his Physiological Dictionary, and embodied by Dr. Drysdale in a most valuable paper read to the Dialectical Society, go a long way to verify the conclusions which would naturally suggest themselves to all reflecting minds in favour of matrimony, and show that celibacy among the adult population is not only most detrimental to health and longevity, but is also chargeable with many other disastrous results.

The weak joint in the armour of the statist is that there are considerations other than physiological which tell in favour of married life, such as, that the married are mostly picked lives, and as being mostly better off than their celibate neighbours, have more comfortable homes and fewer hardships, and are better cared for in sickness and in health than the single; but after making all these allowances, there remains a mass of evidence to support a tremendous Bill of Indictment against celibacy. It has been no small misfortune for society that physiological discussions should have been so generally deemed the exclusive monopoly of the medical profession, and unfitted for non-professional ears.

But, assuming the conclusions to be deduced from Dr. Batillon's statistics to be in accordance with the facts of the case, it would seem impossible to exaggerate the importance of forcing them on public attention. There can be no doubt of the lamentable fact that the great majority of our population have not only never given a thought to the causes of the evils which are settling around them, but, as far as possible, ignore their existence. The thoughtless world would be rudely startled from its torpor of indifference if it were dinned into its ears that celibacy swelled the ranks of criminals, lunatics, and suicides, as well as the Bills of Mortality, in something like a double ratio as compared with marriage!

It would need but little reflection to convince those who are acquainted with the elements of physiology that this is only what might be expected. The connexion between a sound mind and a sound body is beginning to be understood now-a-days, and we know what is the result of an undue accumulation of bile and other secretions in the system due to any derangements of the natural ducts.

Naturam expellas furcâ tamen usque recurret.

The broad conclusion I draw from these premises is that the manners and customs of the 19th century in regard to matrimonial relations are sorely in need of legislative and social reform, and is the practical question I now propose for our consideration. I do

not propose to contest or dissect Dr. Batillon's very ample and interesting statistics—I am contented to admit the practical expediency of universal marriage on the broadest grounds, and prefer to address myself to the consideration of the notorious social evils at present existing, and their possible antidotes. Nor do I propose to waste time in historical recapitulations. I might indulge in a preliminary exposition of the principles of the Roman Marriage Laws, and point out that the ancient Spartan Legislation was founded on the principle that it was the duty of every citizen to raise a thriving progeny of legitimate children for the service of the State, and that it imposed penalties on those who married too late or not at all, far more severe than the mild penal taxes which, up to a recent period, were imposed on the contumacious bachelor of the British Isles. I might quote Plato, too, who expressly affirmed that every citizen should consult the interests of the State rather than his own pleasure in choosing a wife; for the wise men of old were not blind to many considerations which modern wisdom has overlooked; but it would be a waste of time to dwell on the records of the past, unless, indeed, they should suggest to some of our eloquent advocates of woman's rights that it would be desirable to exact pledges from some of the candidates now on their probation to revive the stringent legislation of Lycurgus.

But practical utility is our present purpose, and

our business is to hunt up and hound down existing evils, and devise remedies for them, rather than to discuss the sayings and doings of our forefathers. Where we entertain any doubt as to the wisest course to pursue, or need historical proof of the evil results to be anticipated from any untried suggestion, we may be forgiven a brief reference to historical precedents.

Now, I take it for granted that we are all agreed that marriage is the natural condition and celibacy the unnatural condition of adult humanity, and that whatever is contrary to nature must be radically wrong, unless we are so deluded as to deem the creation wiser than the Creator.

The existing evils which discredit our manners and customs in the matter of the relation of the sexes are sufficiently notorious, but there has been a singular absence of practical suggestions for their reformation. We hear much of the wrongs which are said to be sustained by women at the hands of men. We hear little or nothing of the wrongs—the far greater wrongs, as I think—which women sustain at each other's hands, or rather from each other's tongues. We hear little condemnation of feminine scandal-mongers, and of that most heartless and merciless ostracism which is meted out by women to their erring sisters, to whom they would fain close the gates of forgiveness for ever. The Pharisaical self-righteousness of the corrupt society which visits its own delinquencies on its weaker vessels, and which women are

the first and foremost to encourage, I hold to be the chief of the wrongs of women. We hear much of the wrongs of the whole army of spinsters and unprotected females, a woful and lamentable tale. We hear the woes of the bachelors and their liability to premature decay and early death. We hear much of the wrongs of the married, and the scandalous inconsistencies of the marriage laws of the three kingdoms, the denial of due facility for divorce, and the prevalence of various other social evils attesting the corruption of the age. These are all matters which imperatively demand consideration. But the remedies which popular opinion proposes are, after all, but palliatives, and do not touch the root of the evil. I entirely believe that divorce should be prompt and free *whenever* mutually desired; but if it be only desired by one of the pair, it is a question on what conditions and under what safeguards it should be conceded. The main obstacle to divorce consists of untenable ecclesiastical fallacies, which we shall have to consider presently. The secondary and more serious obstacle is the interest of the children of the marriage. I agree with those who hold that it is far more prejudicial to children to witness the divided counsels of their parents than to be finally parted from one or other of them; and I agree that it is far more prejudicial to society that a discordant pair should be compelled to live together than that they should be allowed to sever the artificial

bonds which alone unite them. The current complaints of the state of the laws affecting the property of married women I have very little sympathy with. Practically there is ample protection now for all who choose to avail themselves of it, and I conceive that the less the Legislature interferes with private family arrangements the better. What we really need is that well-assorted marriages should become universal, and that both sexes should be better educated; and that wives should be treated with more consideration among all classes of society, would be the natural consequence of a sounder system of education becoming general. I am not one of those who live in any dread of an inordinate increase of population.

The Malthusian theory, or rather the reputed Malthusian theory—for I have a shrewd suspicion that Malthus is by no means responsible for all the fallacies which pass current in his name—I look upon as a delusion altogether. We have no such dread of the danger of over-population as seems to haunt so many of our public speakers. We have always regarded it as a baseless bugbear. We believe there is room in the British Isles for ten times the present population. The markets of the world are open to us for food, arts, and manufactures, and the mineral resources of the country offer almost inexhaustible fields of labour wherein to earn its purchase-money, and chemistry and science are continually increasing the resources of

the soil. When an acre of market garden will annually produce crops of the value of some 300*l.*, and the average produce of a farm does not reach 10*l.* per acre, there is ample margin for the employment of more remunerative labour; and there are many of the most glorious regions of the earth ever ready to welcome our surplus hands, and not only provide brilliant prospects and happy homes for those who leave us, but to multiply trade openings for those who remain. But if the average standard of the race were raised, as it soon will be raised, by the civilization of our native savagery, and by the dissipation of the gross ignorance of physiological facts pervading all classes of society, which will soon follow the sounder education of the masses, we shall find, long before population has reached its limits, that the results which experience points to as incidental to high breeding among our flocks and herds will assert themselves among the human herds. The civilized human animal will not be so prolific as the uncivilized. The psychic force now consumed in the indulgence of the lower appetites will be more absorbed by the higher faculties; for we are now beginning to understand that it is one and the same psychic force which is expended in physical and mental exertions.

Were marriage, as it should be, universal, nature would herself provide a remedy for over-population, without any resort to those artificial expedients so universally adopted in France to counteract the

ruinous tendency to the minute subdivision of landed properties, which is the result of the mischievous operation of the Code Napoleon, and which tends to destroy the gentle blood it has taken centuries to refine—the blood which goes to the formation of that delicate and refined brain and fine organization, so essential for the manifestation of the higher intellectual powers. The popular saying, that it takes three generations to make a gentleman, is powerfully vindicated by the modern discovery of the fact, which I have the anthority of a pupil of Liebig for asserting, that chemical analysis reveals a marked distinction between the blood of a gentleman and the blood of a boor. Artificial expedients to check the population of our planet may or may not be open to objection, but at any rate they are less so than the evils which are incidental to the licentiousness of nominal celibacy, which swell our criminal rolls, and send so large a proportion of our infants to increase the population of the spheres.

It seems to me that there is no need of statistics to prove the evil results of real or nominal celibacy. Analogy alone would suffice to establish the fact. Darwin would tell you that all nature teems with evidence of it. Health depends on the adequate exercise of the natural functions of every portion of the human machine, the physical frame ; for it depends upon the harmonious co-operation of the whole nervous system ; and we know that this is so mar-

vellously and harmoniously contrived, and so interdependent, that no portion of it can be thrown out of gear, or be allowed to fall into disuse, without detriment to the machine itself.

We know that our physical and intellectual powers suffer equally from any intermission of due exercise—the *mens* is always *sana, corpore sano;* and if Dr. Drysdale had been pleased to go more deeply into delicate details, he might have told you that derangements of the reproductive organs so intimately affect the brain, which is the special organ of the mind, that the sad statistics of our lunatic asylums, and the melancholy experience of their physicians, afford the most terrible evidence of the widespread evils occasioned by the prevalence of celibacy, and its incidental irregularities among the adult population. But even were such statistics carefully collected and generally accessible, they would not exhibit a tithe of the evils resulting to society from causes which are known to affect the progeny as fatally as the parent. The fearful social evil, prostitution, cries aloud for a remedy, and threatens our children's children with an inheritance of woe. No palliative that has yet been suggested is equal to the necessities of the case. Monogamy seems to be the intent of Nature, else she would not so nearly equalize the male and female birth-rates. But polygamy, whether legalized or clandestine, does seem to have prevailed from the earliest times all over the world; and it is certainly a question

whether it would not be better to legalize and regulate it after the fashion of the Mahommedans, than to encourage its clandestine adoption under the most lawless conditions, by faithless and Pharisaical monogamists. Lady Duff Gordon, in her letters from Egypt, allowed us to see a shrewd old Mahommedan's estimate of the comparative merits of the two systems; and had the honesty to acknowledge the justice of his conclusions, so unfavourable to the morals of the Christian—of which, indeed, we have little reason to be proud. If no more radical remedy could be suggested for existing evils than has yet been proposed, we would vote for legalized polygamy. But time and patience and reflection may bring us better things. Humanity is, indeed, interested in forcing on public attention subjects which so essentially affect the interests of future generations, and in putting an end to the pernicious prudery which would withdraw such vital questions from the wholesome atmosphere of free discussion.

If a healthy state of society is to be brought about, marriage must be universal; but it must be also well-assorted. The marriage state seems to be indispensable to the proper development of mind and body. I verily believe that the exaltation of celibacy by ecclesiastical authorities is one of the most fatal fallacies that ever cursed the world, and of all the mischievous inventions blasphemously ascribed to the Almighty, and published as His Word, I doubt if

there be one more mischievous and mistaken than the text which asserts that *there is no marriage in Heaven.* If there be a spiritual body corresponding in all respects to our mortal body, then there must be spiritual functions to be performed by it analogous to the functions assigned to its earthly counterpart. The mortal body is a compound magnetic machine. I believe that the spiritual body will prove to be the same, and the combination of the positive and negative —the masculine and the feminine—under more subtle conditions, will prove to be as much a spiritual as a terrestrial law. If there be, as we know there is, a future state, in which we are destined to retain our individuality, there must be marriage in Heaven, there must be a re-union of loving souls. If love be divine, if it be the highest attribute of human nature, to suppose that the intense affection which unites those who are happily mated in this world, and which so frequently survives the severance of ecclesiastical ties by death, is destined to be unsatisfied in a future life, is to do violence to the deepest instincts of our spiritual nature—it is to degrade the marriage state on earth, to exalt sensual considerations, and to impugn the purity of affection. If the pure in heart are to be blessed in Heaven, above all others, we need a sounder definition of purity than has yet occurred to the ecclesiastical mind. That celibacy and purity are synonymous terms I utterly disbelieve. I am inclined to think that the purity which is to be

supremely blessed consists in a faithful observance of the laws which Nature would prescribe, were her occult laws fully understood.

But on the other hand it will be answered, "that our experience of marriage life, and the domestic interiors of our friends and neighbours, taken in connexion with the public scandals of the Divorce Courts, does not justify us in regarding marriage as a panacea for the social and moral evils incidental to the celibate life of so large a portion of our population, and that licentiousness is practically not confined to the unmarried." Alas, it is unquestionable that extensivè and radical reforms are needed before marriage can be brought up to its Utopian standard of perfection. The truth is, that we need a new definition of marriage—for there is a true, genuine marriage, and a false, spurious marriage.

There is no doubt that the Churches, in spite of all their corruptions, have embalmed in their ceremonial mummeries many forgotten verities, many vital truths. They have, in innumerable instances, lost the key to the mysteries enshrined in their traditions, but we are not left without a clue to the hidden treasures. The spirit that had fled from the dry bones still lives in realms where it is accessible to the philosopher, if invisible to the theologian. I maintain that the Churches are *entirely in the right* in affirming true marriage to be indissoluble; *entirely in the wrong* in asserting that their own rites are sufficient to con-

stitute a true marriage. It is my firm conviction that affection and affinity are indispensable to an indissoluble marriage, and that animal passions temporarily excited are not reliable indications of these indispensable elements of the true matrimonial relations.

I am disposed to think that in a true marriage man and wife are not so much one flesh as *virtually* one spirit and one soul—one in time and one for eternity; and I believe that when we begin to elevate the art of mesmerism into the status of a science—*the science of soul*—we shall begin to understand mysteries of which but the faintest glimmer is now dawning on our intelligence.

I have met with a case of a happily married pair, between whom there existed such an intimate bond of union that, in the absence of the husband from home, the wife, though utterly ignorant of his whereabouts, could always go straight to him, if she wanted him, and find him wherever he might be. There existed between the pair that strong magnetic affinity which exists between a powerful mesmerist and the sensitive subject *en rapport* with him, with this difference, that the power of attraction existed irrespective of the active exercise of the positive will. It is this attraction between the positive and negative poles which, I believe, will eventually come to be recognised as the *sine quâ non* of true marriage. The human machine I take to be a powerful compound magnet, with its negative and positive poles—the right side of

all dual organs being positive, and the left negative; and I take it that the machine is not perfect without the combination of the masculine and feminine—the true positive and negative elements. When we speak of "*personal influence*" language bears testimony to a grand mystery of nature. My own belief is that we are so many natural Leyden jars, unequally charged with electricity or magnetism, which is always seeking to find its own level, so that we are always either giving or taking it from those with whom we come in contact and those with whom we live. If the influence so given or taken does not harmonize, the results of continued intercourse cannot be beneficial. Practically we all act unconsciously upon this principle, though so few of us recognise the philosophy of it. Oil and water, acid and alkali, will never harmonize with each other, however long they may be bottled up together. We need to study the philosophy of the affections between the sexes far more deeply than it has been studied heretofore, before we shall discover the clue which will guide us out of the labyrinth of difficulties and dilemmas in which we seem so inextricably involved.

The first problem which we have to solve is, how to discover these affinities, and promote the growth of deep heart-rooted affections, in time to form true matrimonial relations, before they are anticipated by spurious matrimonial relations, the result of mere animal passions, and so bring about a moral Utopia, without sapping the foundations of society, and doing

violence to the established standards of morality, or violating the sanctity of family ties.

And the second is, how we can best raise up a barrier against those spurious matrimonial relations, whether sanctioned or unsanctioned by the Church, and all the crying social and moral evils which have rendered modern society rotten to the core.

To suppose for one moment that we can remedy the deep-rooted wrongs, which we all acknowledge, by raving about the rights of women, or vaunting the undoubted advantages of free divorce and marriage law reform, seems to me to be a fatal fallacy. To suppose that in a healthy state of society women would ever enter into equal competition with men I hold to be a radical error. In our unhealthy state of society it may be desirable to try the experiment, as a palliative of evils which cannot be rooted up except by long patience, forbearance, and perseverance; but that the experiment must ultimately fail I entertain no doubt whatever.

I frequently enter a protest against the modern claptrap cry of "woman's rights," because I do not believe in any wrongs being systematically inflicted by society on the weaker sex from any antiquated notion of woman's inferiority to man. There is a modicum of truth in the old adage, "Vox populi vox Dei;" and I look upon woman's position in the civilized world as the one which the common sense of the world has assigned her, in harmony with the provisions of Nature.

I maintain that it is the spirit of Trades Unionism, which restricts the number of apprentices in trades, and interposes all possible restrictions on the admission of new members to old corporations, and not legislative enactments, which stands in the way of masculine spinsters and unprotected females, who desire to follow in the wake of their male relatives, and compete with them in the open fields of labour.

The success achieved by Mrs. Garrett-Anderson, and many of her sister practitioners of medicine, is a sufficient proof that public opinion does not share the prejudices or the selfish exclusiveness of the medical profession; but we must not forget that the faculty is equally opposed to homœopaths, hydropaths, mesmerists, psychopaths, and every description of heterodox masculine practitioners. The Hon. Society of Lincoln's Inn declines to admit feminine members, and the Corporation of Attorneys and Solicitors are equally obdurate; but these same Corporations impose all sorts of restrictions on masculine candidates, and would gladly be more exclusive if they could. But it is open to any woman to plead her own cause in person; and we must not forget that the supreme Court of Appeal, not many years ago, patiently listened to a woman pleading her parent's cause, with most interminable prolixity, for I forget how many days.

Women are not admitted to orders in the Church, and Orthodox Christians appeal to what they please to call the Word of God to justify her exclusion; but

the public flock, Sunday after Sunday, to hear the inspired orations of Mrs. Tappan, the American medium, and congratulate themselves on their good fortune in having found out an orator whose chaste eloquence far surpasses anything that is to be heard from any preacher in lawn sleeves in any Orthodox pulpit of the land.

Public opinion is sound in the matter of woman's rights. The spirit of Trades Unionism, pervading private associations and antiquated corporations and class interests may, no doubt, be liberalized with advantage, but that is not to be done by parading popular fallacies.

The marriage laws of the United Kingdom are rotten and inconsistent with themselves, but their rottenness and inconsistency is not due to any disregard of woman's rights. Their rottenness is principally due to ecclesiastical fallacies, founded, as I have already argued, on the erroneous application of a sound principle. Their inconsistency is due to local and sectarian prejudices, which ought never to have been so freely recognised by the Legislature. But ecclesiastical fallacies have already received a death-blow in the now almost general recognition of civil marriages.

The adventitious sanctity of marriage derived from ecclesiastical ceremonies is doomed to be ignored by coming generations. The true sanctity of marriage relations, based on the divine laws of human nature,

must come to be recognised in its place, when the future race are fully initiated in the mysteries of Will.

Then there will be no question of divorce, no question of woman's independence of her husband. She will be no more independent of him, and he will be no more independent of her, than the two poles of the magnet are independent of each other. Then the harmony of the parents will be transmitted to the children, and there will arise a new generation of men, who will carry the banners of human progress to a higher pinnacle than they have ever reached since the world began. Then will come a time when the principles of breeding—which are now exclusively applied to the improvement of races of cattle—will be applied to the improvement of the human race; and the extraordinary success which has already been achieved by careful selection among animals will be surpassed, beyond the most sanguine anticipations, in a moral, physical, and intellectual development of man. When we speak of the deplorable condition of our marriage relations, we must not forget that the most pernicious result of the existing evils is to be seen in the deterioration of the race. We are beginning to wake up to the importance of national education. We have not yet in this country opened our eyes to the fact that our education begins on our parents' marriage day. Our more enlightened and less prejudiced Transatlantic cousins have become awake to this impor-

tant fact, and here again Will force is the key to the hidden mystery. When we have studied its arcana, we shall begin to comprehend how the mental impressions on the mother's mind are stereotyped on the fruit of her womb, and how important the happiness of the mother and the harmony of her home are to the moral development of the higher nature of her unborn child. How exceedingly blind we have been not to recognise the extreme importance of these considerations heretofore! The Faculty must be familiar with innumerable instances in their practice in which accidents and alarms experienced by mothers during gestation have produced deplorable and self-evident results upon their offspring. Is it not strange that it should not have occurred to them to utilize this knowledge, and make public the principles which are the legitimate deductions from the known facts? Is it not incredible they should not have perceived that good results were as easy to be attained by proper precautions as evil results by casualties? That the psychological impressions of the mother do produce a very powerful effect on the mental and physical condition of her unborn child, and that the most incredibly beneficial results may be anticipated when the School Boards of the kingdom condescend to concern themselves with the dissemination of useful knowledge, I entirely believe. But public prudery has intervened, and the world is to be left in ignorance of the physiological facts which most intimately concern

it to know; and here we find ourselves face to face with the root of the evils which are the curse of humanity. We hear the Origin of Evil much debated in these days. I am induced to think ignorance is at the root of all evil; if it be not, it is very near the root—it is a canker which is calculated to eat into the heart of the healthiest tree. Its fruit is vice and dissipation and licentiousness and crime. Physiological facts should enter as a necessary element into the education of the youth of the land. If the proper study of mankind be man, what supreme folly that the child should not be taught to begin the study of human nature in his earliest years! "Experientia docet," it is said; but does the wise parent leave his child to ruin its digestion by gluttony in order to teach it moderation in its appetites?—does he leave it to discover that nightshade is poisonous by tasting its tempting berries?

Why, then, should he be so reckless as to launch his child among the breakers of adult life, without any warning of the hidden reefs and sunken shoals on which his barque of health and happiness is in danger of foundering?

It is an inexcusable folly, sanctioned by the sanctimonious prudery of the age, which has borne the fatal fruits of corruption now ripening around us. If we would uproot the Upas tree and plant the Tree of Life in our weed-choked soil—

1. We must set to work to harrow out this per-

nicious ignorance, and prepare the soil by the universal teaching of physiological facts and the philosophy of life in our National Schools and seminaries, and to the youth of both sexes, in public and private circles.

2. We must adopt the rational and natural system of mixed education, which has been found so successful by our Transatlantic cousins—the system of bringing up boys and girls together at the same schools. They are brought up together in the nursery, they are destined to live together in the world—why then should they be kept apart at the most critical period of their lives, when the heart is fresh and pure, and open to the deepest impressions and holiest influences?

3. We must do away with "the chaperon" system of espionage, devised to prevent young men and young women from reading each other's hearts, and replace it by the sounder safeguard of that knowledge which is power, by timely instruction in those principles which should guide them in their choice of partners for life, which are at present so universally ignored. There will be little danger of rash and thoughtless entanglements then. There is safety in numbers. There will be no such concentration of psychic influence in a single channel as too often upsets the balance of the mind, and withdraws the hand from the helm, and sets the barque adrift on the stormy seas of passion, under the present system, whose absurd restrictions have given birth to *Matrimonial*

Gazettes and surreptitious advertisements. Then our children will have opportunities of forming at leisure life-long attachments in early life; not grounded on the dictates of senseless lust, but founded on such intimate knowledge of each other's character as will enable them to form a sound judgment of their mutual affinities and sympathies.

Let the advocates of women's rights abandon their ill-judged agitation to promote woman's independence and set her up as a rival of man. Nature has assigned to either sex its own proper sphere, in which they can never be rivals, and she has blended them together by the potent influence and magnetic attraction of mutual sympathies. Those who have the interests of humanity at heart should strive to draw the bonds closer together, and not to rift them asunder. Let the advocates of education cease to clamour for girls' schools and girls' colleges, and set themselves to open the gates of Eton and Harrow and the portals of Oxford and Cambridge to women, and contend that the masculine gender shall be taken to include the feminine in the laws and constitutions of our universities and public schools, as well as in our electoral laws. Let us hear no more of woman's independence; but never forget that an unmated man or woman is an incomplete being. Let us proclaim that there is a grand truth hidden in the current phrase "man's better half," which needs to be dug out and exhibited in all its lustre to the world's wondering gaze.

Who that has ever felt the powerful magnetic attraction which draws two loving natures together in the heyday of youth and beauty and purity, and which is so potent as to make the briefest absence painful, but must acknowledge that if the possibilities of the marriage relations of the future were only rated by the lover's standard of sympathy and harmony, there would be reason to anticipate a vast improvement on the present matrimonial conditions of society?

When the laws of sympathy and antipathy come to be better understood, and sound principles deduced from them, it will be found that true marriage is intended to survive the honeymoon—that the real union of hearts is, as the poet, who is the true prophet, phrases it, a union of souls, not temporal but eternal.

In those happy days, marriage contracted in honest affection will no longer be influenced by unworthy and mercenary motives. The market price of woman will not be weighed out in gold. Then there will no longer be conflicting interests in households, nor dissensions in families, but the harmony which blesses the parents will be the inheritance of the children. Then we may look forward to the realization of that Utopian millennium which now seems a chimera, beyond the reach of our wildest dreams.

A lively debate ensued, of which the impressions remaining on my mind are, that the ladies who took

part in it held very broad and liberal views, even on such advanced subjects as polygamy; while one "psychopathic" gentleman told us he was seven years wandering up and down the world before he could find his proper magnetic complement. It was, as far as I recollect, something to do with the size of the lady's head that complicated the problem; but I have only a vague remembrance of his precise difficulty.

I fancy the above represents about the most progressive point reached at the date of "these presents;" but very likely before these sheets see the light a more tremendous heresy still may startle us out of our matrimonial serenity, and add one more to the already long list of Heterodoxies inscribed on the archives of this Socratical Society.

THE SUNDAY LEAGUE AT HOME.

If a person will not be so orthodox as to go to church on a Sunday evening, and fulfil the promises made by his godfather and godmother that he should "hear sermons," perhaps the most mildly heterodox thing he can do is to accept the invitation of the National Sunday League, and go to hear an "improving" lecture and a little "serious" music. During the winter of 1873-74 the non-churchgoers of the metropolis had a double invitation held out to them in this way by the League. One course of lectures went on at Freemasons' Hall, and another at South Place Chapel, Finsbury. The former, I fancy, did not quite answer the expectations of those who established them; and altogether the League were a good deal "drove about" by the Lord Chamberlain and the Sabbatarians; but they are a sturdy race, who die hard, and consequently take a deal of killing. The former series came to an end some few weeks before the other; the latter only on a certain Sunday evening, when I went to hear Madame Ronniger lecture on "Certain Moral and Æsthetic Deficiencies in the Education of the Present Day," to be followed by a selection from Haydn's "Creation." These were each such very improving subjects that I

cannot say I felt very reckless when I emerged on the flagstones of Moorgate Street, and made my way to South Place Chapel amid the clanging of the church bells. We were requested to be in our places by a quarter to seven, and I could see good reason for the arrangement in the already crowded condition of the building when I got there, almost within a minute of the specified time, for I always reckoned punctuality among the cardinal virtues. The charges for admission were 3*d.* to the galleries, 6*d.* to the side aisles, and 1*s.* to the body of the chapel. The two former divisions were pretty well filled, and the latter very fairly so, a quarter of an hour before proceedings were to commence. I took an orthodox friend with me, who was greatly exercised in his mind at the idea of keeping our hats on in a chapel. I tried to convince him that it was a sign of our heterodox liberty; but he never got quite reconciled to the notion, and furtively removed his beaver on the first convenient opportunity. Many of the audience kept it on during the whole evening; though I thought even a pure Theist might have unbonneted in deference to a lady.

At seven there entered below the platform, where a minute orchestra had been fitted up, a small band consisting of three violins, viola, violoncello, contrabass and flute, while a performer took his place at the grand pianoforte above. These gentlemen played Auber's overture to "La Sirène" very nicely indeed; and I

perceived at once that, if not large in quantity, the instrumental portion of the performance would be first-rate.

There is an unsabbatarian waltzy kind of style about "La Sirène" which I feared might prove as great a trial to my friend as the obnoxious hat. But he bore it manfully; and at the close of the overture, Madame Ronniger, an exceedingly fine and handsome lady, mounted the rostrum, and in a clear, unaffected voice, read her lecture from manuscript.

I was sorry for the lecturer's sake (or is there such a word as lecturess?) that every third person in South Place Chapel that evening seemed to be troubled with an incessant cough; and there was a lively, Sabbath-breaking baby up aloft somewhere, who seemed to have an opinion that he had better be at home in his bassinette, and expressed his opinion so audibly according to his ability, that I fancy most of the audience were of the same opinion too. I know I was.

The title of Madame Ronniger's lecture was—

"On certain Moral and Æsthetic Deficiencies in the Education of the Present Day."

We hear, she said, a great deal about Education now-a-days—a great deal about physical, and a *very* great deal about intellectual; but there is one sort of education concerning which, in my opinion, we hear too little—I mean the education of the *heart*. And when I speak of this I mean the training of the finer perceptions, which to Germans is known under the

title of Æsthetics. The true principle of æsthetic culture is to seek the beautiful not only in art and nature, but likewise in morals and manners. The man who is thoroughly imbued with this spirit will avoid a mean or unjust action, not only because it is in itself immoral, but also because its innate ugliness and repulsiveness are in opposition to his most cultivated instincts—at war, in fact, with all his convictions of moral beauty. I believe that every instance of oppression, of trespass upon the rights of others, every cause of barbarous war, and of tyranny of every sort, has proceeded as much from failure in the application or appreciation of æsthetic principles as from actual moral turpitude. For such reasons is it incumbent upon us to fence well the minds of the youth of both sexes with reverence for the beautiful as well as the good; with a love for beauty of the soul as well as of the eye.

We should begin betimes to cultivate this refinement of feeling. We cannot expect it to be developed by contact with the circumstances of life, for they tend rather to harden than to soften the natural disposition. The great German writer Goethe said, "Character is formed in the stream of the world," and this, in various respects is true. But the principles upon which character is founded, are instilled in earliest infancy—as the clay of the potter's vessel must be carefully moulded in the form we wish it to retain before it is exposed to hardening fires. And the bias and basis of the human model exist or are

prepared long before those after trials supervene, which often deface and pervert nature, as the potter's vessel is frequently cracked and broken in the burning. Therefore it is that the education of the young has always been, and is increasingly looked upon, as so important. In the mind of youth is laid the germ of future contaminating moral pestilence, or of healthy physical as well as spiritual growth. I regard the essentially human attribute of character as of primary significance. And fortunately character is not simply a quality of the mind, it is the concrete result of various natural qualities, numerous influences, diverse yet definite training. It is character that makes the man. External circumstances have, unquestionably, incalculable power in shaping out the course of life; but it is the psychological motive-power of feelings, passions, and aspirations from within outwards which exercises the chief influence of all. We ought, therefore, as before remarked, to begin early with the formation of character in children. To this feature of our human economy I would give even greater importance than that of intellectual acquirement. It forms not only the foundation of individual action and development, but the solidity and worth of the social edifice generally are based upon it. It has often struck me that far too little prominence is given to the development of character in our education of youth. Our young people are taught to be ambitious, to strive and struggle with their fellows, and, too frequently, not

with the noble desire to excel, but chiefly with the wish of achieving worldly and social success. From the neglect of purer and more elevated principles, result the cold unsympathetic disposition, rude and insolent manners, petty selfishness in the small things of daily life. And how frequently people, even excellent and respected in themselves, fail grievously in those lesser but not less attractive graces of character and demeanour, which St. Paul's "most excellent gift of charity" may be said to include. I dwell particularly upon this portion of my subject, because I desire to impress upon those of my sex here present my conviction that it is part of their mission, in the present day, to spread in a more extended degree than has ever yet been achieved through human life and society that humanizing and gentler spirit which should be one of the brightest ornaments of our public as well as of our home life, which the Apostle of old so grandly and so simply set forth, and which the greatest of all poets, Shakspeare, in his celebrated lines upon "the quality of mercy" embodied in immortal verse. We need more light and sweetness in life and manners, more thought for others, more grace, more idealism. I do not consider that we English in the lesser ways of life display much inclination or natural adaptation for the ideal; theoretically we unquestionably do so; and on a large scale the English people have on some occasions shown an appreciation of the more æsthetic and ideal needs of humanity which, as evidence of high and

generous feelings, will ever shine gem-like in the crown of national virtue. As instances may be cited, the Emancipation of Slaves, the Reform Bill, which, though belonging to the hard region of political economy, was a decided evidence of national æsthetic progress, as it was based upon consideration for, and appreciation of, the rights and nobler aspirations of others. We have not been wanting in some few great instances, such as these; but in the common life there is a vast difference between our profession and our practice.

We need the art of *life* as well as that which in the studio grows under the painter's life-realizing pencil, the sculptor's chisel, or the expressive touch of the musician. I do not wish to depreciate the naturally great qualities of my own nation. We have had and have among us great writers, great politicians, great generals, great talents—we have, in fact, greatness where the broad *general* character of a man comes into play; but in ordinary life we are apt to be hard and ungracious, and we seem to get harder and more calculating every day. We pride ourselves greatly upon being a practical people, and this is all very well as far as it goes.

In building our house we must have the carpenter before we have the decorator, and the mason before the carpenter; but we should by no means stop here. The lovely covering of moss, fern, trees, and fragrant flowers with which our earth is adorned may serve as

an excellent prototype, telling us that it is Nature's graceful and genial habit to clothe harshness with softness, distortion and convulsion with beauty in its countless manifestations of form and colour. No doubt much of the want of finish in human transactions may be attributed to the excitement of our short lives—the pace which kills. It is this headlong pace which doubtless frequently prevents equal and steady culture.

I have perfect confidence in the possibility of development—in the growing power of the human mind; but the incessant rush of circumstance, though often a stimulus, frequently acts with a crushing and deadening effect, which should be resisted or avoided.

Respecting the natural capability of development in individuals, I will quote a few sentences from a recent American writer, who complains that a great part of the lighter literature of the day has a tendency to ignore or slight this capacity for growth in our internal being.

"Much of the fiction of our day," says this author, "otherwise strong and admirable, is discouraging in this respect. In the delineation of character, some are good, some are bad, and some indifferent. We have a lovely heroine or a noble hero developing, seemingly in harmony with the inevitable laws of their natures. Associated with them are those of the common or baser sort, also developing in accordance with the innate principles of *their* natures. The first are presented as if created

of different and finer clay than the other. The first are the flowers in the garden of Society, the latter the weeds.

"According to this theory of character, the heroine must grow as a moss-rose, and the weed remain a weed. Credit is not due to one; blame should not be visited on the other. Is this true? Is not the *choice* between *good* and *evil* placed before every human soul, save where ignorance and mental feebleness destroy free agency? We protest against this narrowing down of life, though it be done with the faultless skill and taste of the most cultivated genius."

In the education of the *young* I would endeavour to point out the abstract, and even the artistic *beauty* of good morals, great actions, lofty aspirations, and noble deeds, as well as the *moral* and *religious* obligations of mankind in such respects. I would indeed make a culture of loveliness of every kind—moral as well as artistic.

And thus might much of the unnecessary and repelling austerity which virtue sometimes chooses to assume, and the needless gloom of the religious ascetic be dispersed and banished. The talented author of "Higher Law" suggestively remarks, "I know no more powerful agent in producing the higher morality than the love of beauty." I never could understand why this exquisite world should not be a place of constant delight, provided we all gave to the happiness of others that generous and sympathetic attention which we are in the habit of giving to our

own. It is *selfishness*, either wilful or unconscious, which is the great bar to happiness. I believe so firmly in a possible Utopia of general well-being, that, with the exception of the natural loss of loved friends, I do not otherwise see why, with good education and good management, either misery or crime *need* exist. It may be a long time before we arrive at this point, but I seriously believe in its possibility; and this possibility of the realization of higher ideals is to me almost the most cheering aspect we can acquire of existence. We need not be *angels* to gain this eminence, only conscientious, well-educated, and true-hearted men and women. Education is perhaps the greatest lever which we possess for the accomplishment of this most desirable perfection; but in the enthusiasm and earnestness now obtaining upon this subject, let us not stop short at the training of the intellectual faculties; let our best efforts be directed to the training and education of the heart—to the awakening and strengthening of all that is noblest and truest in the human soul. This theory, however, necessarily imposes upon all who adopt it and would follow it the special obligation of personal excellence, and the broad unselfish love of our fellow-creatures.

One of the subjects and special interests of modern growth which I think greatly neglected in education, but which certainly ought to form one of its special features, is the absolute duty of kindness to animals.

Gentleness and consideration to dumb creatures may be taught, if they are not innate in the character; and but too conclusive proofs that there is ample room for their culture may be found in the wretched lives and conditions of the hardly-used beasts of burden in our streets—in the sufferings of the over-driven cart and cab horse, the patient uncomplaining ass; and even among the animals which man keeps for his pleasure and amusement—the pigeon with its broken wing and closed eye fluttering its short life out beneath the smiles of beauty, and the joyous gaiety of brave men; the panting hare gasping in its death chase to the triumphant yelling of hound and the jubilant shouts of the merry huntsman. I need not dwell upon the barbarous and shameless cruelties, too agonizing for repetition, which from the police courts and the chamber of horrors of the vivisector cry for vengeance, and the championship of all just and tender souls.

In the treatment of animals different nationalities come out very curiously. The Frenchman, otherwise not used to shrink from what wounds the nerves and susceptibilities, is singularly kind to his household companions, and poor puss who, among certain nations claiming high intellectual gifts, is kicked and cuffed as the pariah of society, by our Gallic neighbours is treated with a tenderness worthy of a chivalrous people, too generous to oppress what is in their power, or to ill-use the humble friend who faithfully

and lovingly serves them and theirs. The Italian is decidedly cruel to the brute creation, and the agonizing sights in the markets of that country are beyond description; but they are not incomprehensible when we learn, as Miss Frances Power Cobbe tells us, that the great spiritual chief of that gifted people declares that "Man owes no duty to the brutes." Now, I believe that all these sins against the rights of the weak might, if not altogether, at least in a very considerable degree, be prevented by æsthetic training. How many persons are compelled to act humanely from fear of censure, pride of intellect, and instilled precept, who would fail to do so from the genuine promptings of the heart. Let us therefore either by means of the naturally good heart or its substitute, æsthetic training, sedulously impress upon the growing disposition and character of youth that respect for the rights of all creatures which is a true index of the really noble soul. If we stigmatize the juvenile torturer merely as wicked and depraved, he will, in all probability, only repeat his monstrous conduct; but if it be represented to him that to practise senseless and wanton cruelty is beneath the dignity of a rational being, both reason and pride are called into exercise, and act as a mechanical heart and conscience; and where we cannot have the reality, its imitation, for the sake of the victims, is surely better than callous and savage indifference to suffering. Miss Cobbe has well said that the "growth in our

time of the sentiments of sympathy and compassion for weakness and suffering, as compared to former centuries, is a loftier and diviner progress than any achievements of mechanical skill or scientific discovery." I agree with Mrs. William Grey, the distinguished educationist, in believing that anything which depends upon the powers, good will, and grasp of the human mind, is eminently possible. It is by the awakening of these mental agents that we may secure progress and justice. In the events and thoughts which agitate mankind to-day, in the history of past times, those great symbols of enlightened humanity, progress, and justice, are linked together as supreme powers. To them we owe priceless benefits, material and moral. Before them the torturers of the dark Middle Ages, the Inquisition, the rack, and the stake have quailed; before their banner the harsh and oppressive laws of tyrants have become as mere writing in the sands; and the chains binding the sacred limbs of freedom have fallen powerless. Because those terrible times are past we must not forget that they have been. Let us never be so ungrateful to the memory of the martyrs who have given their blood in the cause of liberty, as to forget why and how they suffered in their noble duty to future generations. Heaven grant that never again in our favoured and happy land may the dark mantle of superstition, in whatever form, fall over the energy and independence of thought of her sons! Heaven grant that its dark

folds may never enshroud or obscure the purity of English homes, and the simple but priceless freedom and cheering warmth of our English hearts! But neither progress nor justice are antagonistic to the true spirit of Christianity. Christianity is indeed an exponent of the highest moral æsthetics. Perhaps in these days of broad intellectual daylight we are apt to forget the great benefits which the modern world owes to the pure and humane spirit of Christianity. What more comprehensive scheme for the general well-being and happiness could be imagined than that code which teaches us to think of the claims of others as our own? Were this principle, so simple yet so all embracing, really carried out consistently, the vices and miseries which deform or sadden human existence would have no place in this exquisite world of ours, which Heaven or Nature, as we each may understand it, has made so rich in its capabilities and resources, so wonderful in its beauty, and which man by his evil passions so often defaces and desecrates. Could this broad faith be understood and practised in its pure simplicity, perplexing creeds and arbitrary dogmas might safely be relegated to the dark cell of the mystic, or the dusty shelves of the doctrinal sophist or bigoted polemic. I confess that I set little value upon the subdivisions of scholastic creeds, and I attach small importance to the peculiar professions of any. Their benefits seem to me negative in comparison with the positive hurtfulness of the dissensions they

have caused. It appears to me that they have been more productive of strife and wickedness than peace and goodness. The spirit of true religion I believe to consist in doing as we would be done by, and in keeping a soul untarnished by deceit, falseness, and selfishness. If we make these principles our own, and act upon them systematically, it will signify little whether our creed be of Paul or of Apollos. Perhaps the finest practical manifestation of religion is the unswerving devotion to duty. A few days ago an old soldier was lamenting to me the want of a more thorough appreciation of this principle in the education and action of the day. He may be right or wrong in his belief, that too little importance is attached to the observance of duty, but there is no doubt that the principle is one which cannot be too strongly enforced. A nobler legacy was never left to a nation than those undying words of Nelson—"England expects every man to do his duty!"

One of the most refreshing and encouraging facts in connexion with my subject is, that we may almost all do something to aid in the progressive education of those around us. And it is especially delightful to remember that this noble pursuit of education is one which we may follow to the last day of our lives. So limitless is the sea of knowledge that one human intellect can take in but a very small portion of the vast banquet spread before it. It is a wiser plan to keep the mind ever in the attitude of learning, for

thus may be preserved much of its freshness and its capacity for elevated enjoyment, its singleness of aim, and its reverence for true greatness. In learning, self may be most easily forgotten—merged in a fresh and ever-progressive new existence. I think all persons should have some study on hand as a resource from the wearisomeness of every-day cares, as a discipline as well as a means of systematically acquiring knowledge. To our wealthy millionaires I would commend the example of Sir Peter Coates, a distinguished inhabitant of Paisley, a town from which I have just returned, and where the large employer of labour just alluded to—a man as excellent and benevolent as he is enlightened—has at an immense outlay given to the town a public library and museum. In the elegant and spacious halls of this institution, where I had the pleasure of giving a lecture, I saw large numbers of students in the evening, when the hours of work were over; and the noble founder has the satisfaction of knowing that it is regularly attended by three thousand persons. Surely the happiness of the man who has thus thrown open the portals of knowledge to thousands of eager souls must be great indeed! The opportunities of obtaining good books, attending good classes, and of joining improving associations are not yet sufficiently numerous. And this is more especially the case with regard to women, who find themselves shut out from the evening reading-rooms or debating society. Judicious association with others, and the

chance of learning from the excellent periodicals of the day what is moving and stirring in the world around us are most valuable, and I should gladly see the establishment of reading-rooms for women, on a simple and healthy basis, in all districts. The expenses need not be great; and surely many ladies of acknowledged character and position might be found to lend their countenance and support to such undertakings. A focus of help and instruction might thus very easily be founded in every neighbourhood. I sympathize most earnestly with working men and women's colleges and clubs, and with mutual intercourse in connexion with intellectual subjects. Class prejudices may be most easily removed, and persons of different ranks of life may learn to discover the good and interesting qualities of those above and below their own social grade. I look forward to some bright time when the evening lecture, the scientific or literary class, the art-exhibition will drive the vulgar and depraving music-hall, the tavern and the gin palace out of the field. This, of course, can only take place when the taste of the masses has been raised by education; when the minds nurtured upon the wholesome food of moral teaching, science, natural history, and the countless resources of learning and art, will turn with disgust from sensual and debasing pleasures. In the neighbourhood of every one there must be some institution capable of affording, in a certain degree, benefits of this kind, and I would earnestly beg all present to endeavour,

as far as they can, to countenance and support the same. A little aid and encouragement are of great importance in the organization and carrying on of these centres of education. But it is not enough that all classes should have the advantages of education set before them. It is also necessary that all classes should have a reasonable amount of time to enjoy and benefit by them. Therefore I hail with delight the shortening of the hours of labour, and I confess that I sympathize heartily with the weary slaves of mechanical toil who endeavour to obtain less work and more pay. Although I should never desire to encourage idleness, or the defrauding of the rightful demands of an employer, I do think that this question is one calling for considerable revision; and it has always appeared to me that the remuneration for the labour of the hands, muscles, and sinews has not been at all in proportion to its *real* value to the community at large or to individuals. Like Sisyphus of old fable, we see Labour toiling up the steep, with his heavy block of stone ever ready to roll down again, in the daily and well-nigh hopeless repetition of ceaseless toil. I rejoice in the further working out of the principle of union among the operative classes—thus affording to labour a hopeful and encouraging prospect in its old struggle with capital. When we consider the vast importance of good service to the family as well as to the employer, none can slight nor underprize its great value. Now, after a long life of

ceaseless daily toil, through "the heat of the sun and the winter's bitter rages," the labourer who has manfully helped to amass the millions which fall to the share of capital, may find an asylum for his old age in the parish workhouse, and a doctor for his infirmities in the parish dispensary; or if particularly lucky, he may get a pension of a few shillings weekly from some wealthy and beneficent landowner, to whom it is more agreeable that the poor submissive wretch should be the recipient of voluntary bounty, than that he should develope into the sturdy, independent old English veteran, who has earned the right to live as he chooses upon the just fruits of his industry. Surely this state of things is neither right nor just. Therefore I give my heartiest sympathy to all endeavours to ennoble labour—whether of the head or hands—and to strengthen its influence. I am weary of the perpetual cry that before privileges are granted to those who have by circumstances or otherwise been systematically deprived of them, education must be first conferred, as a primary and preparatory blessing. The experience of the years succeeding the Reform Bill has proved that the possession of legal and constitutional rights and responsibilities is in itself one of the best kinds of education. Should we have had this general upheaving of the great substratum of the social structure, this healthy yearning for life, light, and a fair share of power, if the impetus had not been given by the concession of political

liberty? Where is it that the greater intelligence is to be found? Is it among the drowsy, heavy agricultural labourers, untrammelled by the possession of electoral responsibility, and unfettered by patriotic interests? Or is it among the energetic and thoughtful artisans of our cities, where every man who is a householder has the stimulus to action and reflection which the possession of electoral responsibility brings with it? And I would add this remark—that the classes who have retained privileges, powers, and prizes for themselves, themselves show an infinitely greater need of the best sort of education—that of the heart—that of the principles of justice and generosity—than do the classes whose ignorance is accepted, fostered and abetted, and then cast in their faces as an accusation and an obstruction. We need education to *keep* benefits, as much as we do to *acquire* them. I seriously believe that the education now most needed by the upper classes is one which will be best gained from sympathetic intercourse with the lower classes, and by the concession and just appreciation of the rights of the latter as human beings—as native sons of the soil. I confess that labour, whether of the head or hands, has my entire sympathy. Honest work is a grand thing, and by means of it a man may proudly hold up his head among the noblest. I wish that every unworthy feeling of false shame could be blotted out of people's minds as to the loss of caste which in certain circles is

tacitly considered to be entailed by earning a livelihood otherwise than by means of the leading professions. Of course no one admits that he or she could be ashamed of anything so theoretically honest and honourable; nevertheless, to use a familiar expression, there is a great deal of unconfessed flunkeyism on this subject, and the canker of superficial worldliness lurks often where least to be expected. To be sincere and independent in mind and thought, courage is most necessary; and it is the cultivation of such straightforward, home-bred qualities, which appears to be most needed in the present day. As was once said of books, we may now say of learning, "there is no end." But even higher than learning I would place the solid qualities of steadfastness, truthfulness, fortitude, courage, and justice. And not alone are we in want of those of everyday life, but the subtler developments of generosity, gentleness, courtesy—that true refinement of the heart which is at the root of good manners—seem to be equally required. I should indeed gladly welcome a greater respect for the ideal; and it appears to me that women, from the special tendency of their natures, can do much in this direction. As I before observed, apart from justice, truth, honesty, and all the great qualities being cultivated because they are right, the more general appreciation of their æsthetic beauty and moral grace seems to me to be required. It must not be imagined that I under-estimate the great value of the training

of the conscience. Conscience is indeed that nobler essence of our being which helps most materially to keep the moral atmosphere pure, and its cultivation is necessarily of supreme importance; and though in the larger affairs of life lapses of moral integrity are perhaps less common, still in the less weighty transactions and details of social life less regard is paid to the obtrusive monitor than might be desired; and hence the petty jealousies, hatreds, and unworthiness which accompany even what is called good society.

Naturally this selfish policy deprives society of a number of its best features, tinging with bitterness many a heart, which turns with disgust from the paltry superficiality of the world to the comparative retirement of a more limited circle, or into complete solitude. Formerly people became hermits, monks, anchorites; now retirement is sought by many in a life of usefulness, in the humble by-paths of well-doing, among the crowded streets of our city. It can hardly be denied that we need greater sincerity, more of the spirit of self-sacrifice and of helpfulness in social life, to render its precincts really refreshing and pleasant to any but the mere butterflies of fashion.

Almost the chief requisite for happy and satisfactory intercourse with others is courteous sincerity. I would inculcate this excellent quality with the greatest diligence in all stages of education, but

especially I would hold it up for the reverence and practice of the young.

All acknowledge that it is an excellent thing to be able to say of a man that his word is as good as his bond. The economical loss to society by the rarity of this principle is incalculable; and John Stuart Mill never wrote truer words than when he said—"The advantage to mankind of being able to trust one another penetrates into every crevice and cranny of human life."

But though we have gained much when, in our system of training, we have insured trustworthiness, uprightness, and integrity, we have still only the skeleton, the framework of our model member of society.

To clothe the dry bones with life, those gentler qualities to which I have before alluded must be carefully instilled, fostered, and exercised: the spirit of self-devotion at least, if not of self-sacrifice, should accompany us through life as a constant companion, as a joy-giving, hope-inspiring atmosphere. We are all capable of adding to or taking away from the happiness of others—but it is not enough to avoid taking away; and though the ready hand and the ready heart to assist in the structure of another's well-being may not be common as natural gifts or natural impulses, the will should be distinctly awakened and trained to contribute to the welfare of our neighbours. In social life, and in a still greater degree in family life, the spirit of self-sacrifice has a

wide field for exercise. The continual changing of circumstances, the play of different dispositions, the constant household friction, all call for forbearance and self-abnegation—for the practical exercise of that spirit which is at once the root of Christianity, as well as that of the highest and purest philosophy; and which, as before remarked, is at the foundation of good manners, good morals, and good lives.

Perhaps my standard of education may be considered as involving too great a sacrifice of personal feeling, but I believe that in life, as in all else, there is a certain art which simplifies and organizes. Our continental friends have always had a great reputation for this, which among them is known as *savoir vivre*, or how to live; and though I should not like us to exchange all that is English for all that is French, there is much in the easy and well-bred courtesy of the latter nation which we might do well to make our own. Education should teach us how to make the best of life, and how systematically to cultivate a happy contented frame of mind. And that beauty is to be one of the chief constituents of our happiness is evident in the countless forms of grace and loveliness in earth, air, sea, and sky. And not only the external, but the internal world offers endless consolations and compensations, of which we shall do well to remind those in our care in their hours of depression and misgiving. The consciousness of duties performed, of high aims and lofty desires,

can gild earth's darkest paths with rays of light and unfading splendour.

Education should certainly rig and fit us out for the special duties we may have to fulfil, and the position which we may be called upon to occupy. But as I so especially wish to impress as my conviction, it should also teach us how to adorn our lives—how to introduce into them the greatest beauty, happiness, and sympathy. And the purer the tastes the more possible will this be. The whole world of Art is there as our treasure-house, whence to draw stores of delight and culture. I differ entirely from those persons who make a point of depreciating the educational value of the Fine Arts. I am entirely opposed to the indifference which such views betray to the craving for and need of beauty in the human soul; and I am inclined to believe that the disapproval expressed by such persons is a consequence, not only of absolute ignorance of some of the highest manifestations of the imagination, but that it also proceeds from the inability of a certain type of intellect and nature to penetrate the subtler instincts of genius. And this branch of my subject I regard as specially in accordance with the endeavours of the Society under whose auspices I have the honour of addressing you this evening, and who, in their untiring efforts to open to all the avenues leading to the culture and gratification of the imaginative faculties, deserve hearty support and co-operation.

There is another branch of my subject to which I should like to allude—I mean the imperfection of discipline which, in comparison with continental nations, is to be observed in our general system of education and training. As a striking instance of the power of discipline, I may refer to the triumph of the German arms in the late Franco-Prussian war. On the German side nothing had been left to chance—all was forethought, foreplanned; the result of the most careful method, the most uncompromising attention to detail. Germany did not conquer because it was braver, more heroic, or more talented than France; but because every detail was calculated, every emergency foreseen. The spirit of order was supreme. This is an almost unfailing way to insure success, and most people are familiar with the dictum which calls genius "a consummate capacity for taking trouble." I do not quite agree with this, but there is a good deal in the saying. Our system of education in England is defective in general discipline—and specially so in those points pertaining to manners and social bearing. As an evidence of this among the middle or upper-middle classes, I will refer to a paper read upon the "Personal Bearing of Europeans in India towards Natives," by Nourozjee Furdoonjee, Esq., before the National Indian Association, on January 24th of this year, and which has recently been published.

As an illustration of this national shortcoming, as

manifested among the operative class, I will quote some remarks made by Mr. Escher of Zurich, an engineer and cotton manufacturer, formerly employing nearly 2000 working men of many different nations, in his evidence annexed to the Report of the Poor-Law Commissioners in 1840. "As workmen only," Mr. Escher remarked, "the preference is undoubtedly due to the English, because, as we find them, they are all trained to special branches on which they have no comparatively superior training, and have concentrated all their thoughts. As men of business or general usefulness, and as men with whom an employer would best like to be surrounded, I should, however, decidedly prefer the Saxons and the Swiss, but more especially the Saxons, because they have had a very careful general education, which has extended their capacities beyond any special employment, and rendered them fit to take up, after a short preparation, any employment to which they may be called."

The writer then further remarks upon the moral characteristics of the English workmen. He continues:—"While in respect to the work to which they have been trained they are the most skilful, they are in conduct the most disorderly, disreputable, and unruly, and least respectful and trustworthy of any nation whatsoever whom we have employed; and in saying this I express the experience of every manufacturer on the Continent to whom I have

spoken, and especially of the English manufacturers, who make the loudest complaints. These characteristics of depravity do not apply to the English workmen who have received an education, but attach to the others in the degree in which they are in want of it. When the uneducated English workmen are released from the bonds of iron discipline in which they have been restrained by their employers in England, and are treated with the urbanity and friendly feeling which the more educated workmen on the Continent expect and receive from their employers, they, the English workmen, completely lose their balance, and, after a certain time, become totally unmanageable and useless." Now this—be it remarked—was written in 1840, consequently about thirty-four years ago. The wider spread of education, it is to be hoped, may have modified in a considerable degree the grounds for such censure. The Saxons to whom allusion has been made are a peculiarly courteous and genial race, with great taste for study, and possessing general culture. And although their poverty is frequently extreme, I have been told by a well-informed native of the kingdom that good education is the rule. They thus start with immense advantages over the workmen of our country. In considering these failings in some of the operative classes of our countrymen, it is only fair, at the same time, to take into consideration the very trying effects of constant labour upon the nerves and spirits. After ten or twelve or more

hours of hard and continuous bodily application, it may be easily imagined that the raw, uneducated labourer has little thought but of rest, or of indulgence in the ignoble amusements which shall prevent his being too painfully sensible of the ponderous weight of wearied bone and muscle which he bears. His over-wrought system, unrelieved by any mental resources, collapses into hopeless stupidity or seeks oblivion in drunken frolic. The cultivated artisan of our Mechanics' Institutes is, of course, a very different person from this unfortunate wretch. To him the arts and sciences have opened their magic portals, and his inclinations and capacities, trained to a higher standard, recoil with disgust from low pleasures and pursuits. Among this class of men are to be found large hearts, and intellects and abilities of the highest order. The intelligent conversations I have heard at social gatherings of educated artisans have made me blush for the vapid kettledrum and the languid "at home" of some of the upper classes. I remember upon one occasion being called upon to preside at one of the tea-tables of a similar social meeting, and I very soon found myself taking part in an animated controversy upon Shakspeare. I considered myself, from a special study of our great poet, in some degree entitled to have an opinion respecting his various excellences. But I quickly discovered that my antagonist was so well versed in the poet's plays, in the historical traditions, and the various

criticisms upon them, that I felt convinced I should gain more by listening than speaking. Upon another side the conversation turned upon painting; the chief speaker, who was a decorator, had been in Germany in the pursuit of his calling, and had studied with good effect the different styles of painting which had come under his notice. Of course these individuals had had more leisure, more education than ordinary workmen—but I mention the incident as showing what is possible under moderately favourable circumstances.

To revert to my subject of regular employments requiring close attention. It must be remembered that although the same give special power and practical insight to those engaged upon them, they have their disadvantages in the mechanical tone of thought and feeling which they induce. Even occupations of an agreeable and entertaining character, when pursued systematically, degenerate into business-like and comparatively uninteresting routine. The ideas run in one groove, and existence becomes a sort of mental treadmill. Now if this is the case with delightful pursuits, such as literature and art, how terribly must it be so with the lower callings, involving incessant and exhaustive physical labour. These considerations may serve to render us more tolerant of the ignorance of the daily labourer, who, feeling that all he can expect or count upon in this life is his weekly pittance, and labouring under the disadvantage of his narrow circle of ideas and cramped or undeveloped

aspirations, is, no doubt, often tempted to say to himself—"Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die!" In the life of everybody there should be some opportunity for the imagination to develope, and so to become a source of pleasure and instruction. We need more public holidays, on which the delights and wonders of nature, art, and science may be examined and enjoyed. The five or six days in the year allotted to amusement or recreation appear to me to be ridiculously out of comparison with the drudgery of the whole year round. I cannot blame the miner if he only wishes to have four days of his heavy, darksome toil; but I should be glad if he knew how to enjoy and spend the other days rationally. Here the omissions and shortcomings of past times come upon us. People seize hold of the fact with avidity, that the lowest class of labourers are in the habit of brutalizing their opportunities of leisure, when, in justice, former ages should be blamed for the bad foundation laid by ignorance and neglect in the minds of the labouring classes, thereby incapacitating them for pleasures of a higher order. I have not attempted to reduce my ideas on the subject of education to a special system. The observations I have made I leave for the further elaboration and consideration of others. The sincerity with which they have been offered will, I trust, be the best apology for their imperfections and deficiencies.

I don't know whether I may parenthetically venture on a personal remark just so far as to notice the immense advantage a lecturer on these topics possessed in being able herself to challenge criticism on æsthetic grounds. I very much doubt whether certain venerable ladies who affect the compartment labelled "for ladies *only*" in the Reading-room of the British Museum could safely have made some of the remarks Madame Ronniger did; but our lecturess declaimed with the air of a Rachel, and no critic—at least no male critic—could possibly have complained of her denunciations.

It was quite a picture to see the face of Mr. Morell, the secretary of the League, as he sat close by me and smiled seraphically at the stroking down his Society got from the fair hands of the speaker. Personally he looked as though, like Oliver Twist, he wanted a "little more" of it. It must have been very agreeable.

There were one or two faint attempts at applause during the course of the lecture, especially at the portions which denounced pigeon-shooting, and contrasted the attractions offered by the Sunday League with those of the low music hall; and also the suggestion for "more holidays." But the same idea of consecrated ground which made my friend's head uneasy beneath his gossamer hushed the plaudits down to the merest *soupçon*. It was quite evident, however, that the

matter of the lecture gave satisfaction; and the manner of its delivery could not fail to do so.

Then followed the selection from the "Creation." An adequate chorus ascended the platform, and three soloists took their places in front. The band wisely abstained from giving us the representation of Chaos in septet, though it was down for them in the programme. The music was in all respects above par, and the selection judiciously abbreviated. Some of the choicest *morceaux*, such as "With Verdure clad," "In native Worth," and "Graceful Consort," were thoroughly appreciated by the audience; and the whole concluded with the chorus "The Heavens are telling."

When we rose to go out we perceived of how large an audience we had been atoms; and my friend observed to me—nor could I contradict him—that, if this were a violation of the Fourth Commandment at all, it was "a very rational kind of Sabbath-breaking." I did not feel quite clear then, nor am I at all decided now, to what extent *æsthetic* considerations biassed his judgment, or even my own; but I only know that if ever I hear of the Sunday League in any successive year putting up one of the above-mentioned dowagers from the British Museum to lecture in Madame Ronniger's place, I will decoy him from his pew again, and hear what he says about "Rational Sabbath-breaking" then.

INTERVIEWING A MORMON ELDER.

Among the Thousand and One Nights which I have spent in my examination of the different religious bodies in London, there is one community which has hitherto dodged me like a Will-o'-the-wisp. It is that of the Latter-day Saints. Some sects have coyly stood aloof like an aged wallflower in a ball-room, only to own the soft impeachment at last that they really liked to be taken notice of, though they did talk of "rude men" at first, and somewhat too effusively state their wish to "blush unseen." But Mormonism was determined not to be "done." So was I, however; and I have here to record my victory. I have interviewed an Elder too fresh from Utah to be proof against my wiles. I have been face to face with a gentleman redolent of the air of the Great Salt Lake; I know—if not all about spiritual wives—a great deal more than I did a day or two before; and, with the impetuosity of a tyro, I hasten to unbosom. My ideas may be crude, for the Book of Mormon and the principles of nineteenth century polygamy are not to be assimilated with a hop, skip, and a jump; but they have at least the merit of freshness. I have the latest intelligence from Utah. My knowledge

has been long delayed, but it is posted up to the present time at all events.

Two or three Sundays before, I had seen by an advertisement in the newspapers that the Saints were going to hold a conference in Limehouse. Bishops and Elders from the Salt Lake were to preside; and immediately, as Melancholy did the youth in Gray's Elegy, I "marked them for my own." The Sunday, of course, was wet—all the Sundays were just about the fag-end of October and the beginning of November of that year—and Limehouse was not exactly the most enticing quarter of the metropolis to tempt one's steps on a Sabbath eve; but I would go if I had to swim the distance. A facetious passenger in the omnibus, gorgeous with Brummagem jewellery, and fragrant with rose hair-oil, remarked that the rain put him in mind of the eve of the Deluge. Limehouse was sludgy beyond a doubt, and the City churches seemed to be drawing, if possible, smaller congregations than usual, as we paddled our weary way along amid the clanging bells that Sunday evening. After a long and most amphibious journey, we got to our destination, which was some public hall whose high-flown title I had forgotten. This was the rendezvous, for the time being, of the Saints; and in I went, with that boldness which I have gained by much frequenting strange places of worship. Time was when I used to hang about modestly at the door, half hoping that one of the faithful, seeing my state of heathen darkness,

would step out and ask me in. But I did not hesitate that evening, or at least only for a moment.

Some twelve or fourteen gentlemen were arranged in a semicircle on the stage, sitting in chairs like a troupe of pious Christy Minstrels, and they kept on making speeches one after the other, none of which attracted me in the least, because they all shirked the question which was uppermost in my mind, and I fancy is uppermost in the mind of most of the unregenerate, in reference to Mormonism. They spoke of their persecutions, and how it was sufficient to say of a man "He's a Mormon" to exile him from the pale of respect. They invited the East-enders to come out to Utah and prosper. They told us they had "emigrated" 150 from London last year—and really that was all. The rest might have been the utterances of anything, from Evangelicals down to Jumpers; there was nothing distinctive. And yet it was with a light heart that I went home again and read President Smith's "Answers to Questions, including the Revelation on Celestial Marriage," which I bought in the Hall for fourpence-halfpenny, and devoured as well as the light of the railway carriage would let me. Light-hearted I say, because I had got the address of Elder Burton, President of the London Conference. I had run my Latter-day Saints to earth at last.

I wrote to this same Elder Burton, and asked an interview, which he graciously accorded me, and of which, I need scarcely say, I gladly availed myself.

I found Bishop's Grove, Islington, where he resided, a little unepiscopal *cul-de-sac* close to Dalston Junction. The passage was dark when I entered, so that I could only see it was a female who let me in. She deposited me at once in a cosy front parlour, and saying, "Brother Burton, a gentleman," vanished down the stairs or into the back parlour—I have no notion which. Elder Burton, whom I recognised again, had another gentleman with him, who I soon found had that very day arrived from Utah, where he held no less a post than that of barber to Brigham Young himself. I was delighted. I was actually in presence of one who had shaven the President's saintly face! We proceeded to business at once. Elder Burton asked me to state what was the principal question in my mind in reference to the sect; and I flatter myself I blushed becomingly as I simpered "The ladies." I wanted to ask about "celestial marriage," respecting which I got no information at the Limehouse Conference. In fact, I told him that I failed to gain any distinctive idea of his tenets there. "Was not that," said the Elder, who was a grave and sedate man, but Yankee to the marrow, "because you came with your mind running on one idee, and you took no notice of anything else?" I thought the Elder's explanation very probably correct; and he then begged me to notice as a preliminary fact, that polygamy was no rationale of the ill-repute of Mormonism. Persecution preceded the custom, and was, so said the

Elder, due to the fact that the Saints revived primitive Christianity—that one uniform claim of all the sects. "You try and revive the teaching of Christ in the Church," said Elder Burton, "and you'll be persecuted just as we were in the States." The barber—whom I am obliged to designate thus, for I never learnt his name—here cut in with a chronological remark to clinch me. The doctrine of polygamy was not publicly proclaimed until 1852. It was believed in before, but not formulated till then, and Smith was "martyred" in 1844. "So you see it couldn't have been plurality that brought us into disrepute. No; it was primitive Christianity."

Our trio was here enlarged by the entrance of an exceedingly imposing gentleman in a dress suit of resplendent black, and hair to match, beautifully oiled and parted down the middle. Whether it was the contrast of the small parlour I know not, but he seemed to me seven feet high. He was quite of a different calibre from the others. Elder Burton was, as I have said, "elderly" in point of gravity rather than of age. The tonsorial gentleman looked—well, looked like a barber who had thriven on the President's head and chin; but the new-comer was evidently a "personage." I am as ignorant now as I was then of his name or rank, and this very ignorance, combined with his sleek attire and pale, close-shaven face, will make him ever an object of mystery to me. He was every inch a gentleman, though, and

thoroughly posted up in the principles of the sect, saying little while the Elder or the barber was talking, but always coming in to floor me when I fancied I had got them up in a corner. For instance, I conceded that polygamy was permitted in the Old Testament, but not in the New. "Will you put your finger on a text which condemns it for any class of men?" asked the Elder, and I quoted the words, "A bishop must be blameless, the husband of one wife." The Elder and the barber (I wish I knew his name) were silent; but, after a brief pause, the gentleman in black smiled sweetly, and showed me his ivory teeth as he said, "Yes, one *at least;* but it does not say he must not have more than one." I collapsed for the time being. The case of the Levirate Elder Burton thought rather in favour of polygamy than against it, as it was scarcely probable all the seven brothers were bachelors. I asked him when and how he thought polygamy died out, and he said in the first century of Christianity, and through the corrupt example of Rome, where monogamy and its attendant evils prevailed. In reference to the extent of practical polygamy in Utah, they told me that scarcely one-tenth of the people availed themselves of it, though fully holding the doctrine. "That doctrine," said Elder Burton, "is due, not to the cause generally supposed, but simply to the desire to raise up a righteous seed, and also to provide for the excess of females over males, which is Nature's own argument in favour of

polygamy. Were the low motive usually assigned the real one, polygamy would be the most expensive way of carrying it out." I assented to that, and also to the terrible prevalence of what is technically termed the "social evil" in monogamic countries. "Indeed," added the Elder, "if concupiscence be the object of marriage, we consider the person so contracting it to be in danger of condemnation. We hand such a man over to the devil."

Then it was that I asked the most delicate question of all, which I felt I must ask or die. Did either of the gentlemen I had the honour of addressing enjoy a plurality of domestic bliss? The Elder was silent; the resplendent gentleman in black answered not; but the barber, with an air of triumph, replied that he had two establishments, and a very large family in each. "In Utah, sir, a man is proud to say he has a large number of children. He is ashamed to say the reverse." "And the blessing of the Lord," rejoined the Elder, "rests on the Saints in proportion to the largeness of their families." I could not help thinking of a story Mr. Henry Russell used to tell before he sang "A good time coming." He was singing it once, and when he came to the verse—

> Every child shall be a stay,
> To make his right arm stronger;
> The happier he the more he has—
> Wait a little longer!

a working man got up and interrupted the performance by saying, "I beg your pardon, Mr. Russell,

but could you give one some idea of *when* this is likely to take place?" Evidently that gentleman had a quiver full, which would have secured him favour both human and Divine in Utah.

From this we passed to general topics, most of which I found pretty well covered by the pamphlet I purchased at Limehouse, namely, "The Rise, Progress, and Travels (*sic*) of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, including the Revelation on Celestial Marriage." In the latter I find a distinct revelation appertaining to Emma Smith, the first wife of the saintly Joseph. She was to "receive all that should be given to my servant Joseph," and "mine handmaid Emma Smith was to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else." I insinuated, in the politest manner, that it might be very nice for Joseph, but did Emma, as a rule, like it? How did the ladies stand the practice of plurality? Well, said the Elder, they had their "little feelings," but then they were educated up to it. The barber was silent; and I could not repress an irreverent thought as to whether he ever had his hair combed by either of his dual belongings. There were fewer cases for the divorce court in Utah than in monogamic countries, I was informed. In fact, the Salt Lake country was a polygamous Paradise, if all were true. There were 70,000 square miles of territory, with 113,000 population. That was indeed a contrast to our crowded acres in England. "And

as for religious toleration, why, if you, or any other minister, no matter of what body, were to come to Salt Lake City, we would give you a hall with an audience of 10,000 or 12,000, and the finest organ in the world, with leave to have what service you liked, and to preach to the people as you choose." "Well, I'll think it over," I said, as I rose to go. "But I don't think you will do much good if you do preach," said the gentleman in black. I quite agreed with him, and told him so. As a recognition of his superior qualifications, I asked him why he did not break ground at the West-end of town; whereupon, and only for one moment, he waxed warm, and said, "Will you find me a respectable public hall where I *can* break ground? I have tried for three years, and cannot find a place." This, he said, was religious toleration in England. I really was surprised at this, for I should have thought anybody could get a hall in London—"for a consideration."

On my homeward journey I amused myself by imagining what my fellow-travellers could possibly think I was, for I held conspicuously displayed a copy of the *Salt Lake Semi-Weekly Herald*, which my friend the barber had brought that day from Utah and kindly lent me to beguile the tedium of my return from Dalston. It is decidedly smart. Among its "inklings" I read, for instance, "Applejack parties are on in Vermont." "The hog-cholera is prevailing to a large extent in Ohio." "A Galesbury

barber advertises himself as a professor of crinicultural abscission and criniological tripsis." Under the significant head of "The Ladies," "Ohio has graduated another female lawyer. She is famous for stepping three feet in her morning walk." "Vassor College devours forty-two good-sized water melons for dinner. Angels have appetites as well as other folks." "Smoking seems to be a very prevalent disease in young ladydom. They smoke cigarettes—by the doctor's orders." "An Illinoisian, who has the mammas of three of his temporary matrimonial partners still living under his roof, heads a movement to procure an amendment of the divorce laws, including mother-in-law in the process of separation." Even the items of general intelligence are not without interest, from the way they are put, though we may be unacquainted with the persons mentioned. Under the title of "Got Back," occurs the following: "Our friend Mr. L. U. Colbath and his fair bride returned from Fr'isco Monday, where they have been passing a portion of the honeymoon. We saw Lem, and he appeared about as happy as a mortal being of the male persuasion could well be, huge smiles dancing all over his good-natured face. If he wasn't thinking about his wife at the time, then we can't look into the recesses of a man's thoughts. In a long life of observation we never saw a bachelor who wore such a long and loud smile of perfect contentment and happiness as does our worthy friend." Decidedly

my perusal of this specimen of journalism was not among the least edifying fruits of my long-sought Mormon interview.

On a subsequent occasion, I had strayed to Penton Street, Islington, one Sunday evening, in quest of a certain sect to whom I have already adverted; and, not finding my heretical friends as punctual as could be wished, I strolled into a little huckster's shop to do some Sunday trading in the shape of a note-book, and also, should circumstances permit, to get information. A somewhat lengthened experience in the way of descriptive journalism has taught me always to get into conversation with everybody. One is sure to learn something. I did on this occasion.

Having made my small purchase, I asked some leading question on the subject of the special Heterodoxy of which I was in search. The good woman of the shop, who was both comely and conversational, did not know much about that, but was hard on the demerits of another body that had come and settled in that street—the Latter-day Saints.

"The what, ma'am?" I said. "Do you mean the Mormonites?"

She did.

Eureka, I had found them. The Dancing Academy, past the next turning on the right. I was off like a shot. Yes; there, sure enough, was a blessed board informing me that the Saints gathered there on Sunday mornings and evenings, and also on

Thursday evenings at S. I would go on the Thursday evening. I could not wait a week.

The next Thursday happened to be the day when the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh made their public entry into London; and all the metropolis consequently was gravitating westwards about 8 P.M., to see the illuminations. But I felt that the Saints would be above such trifles as these. What does a wife or two more or less signify to a Latter day Saint?

Due north did I turn my pilgrim footsteps, then, and when I got to the Dancing Academy found it shut. Religious Dancing Academies always seem to be shut when I attempt them. I ventured to knock at the door, and ask if there was to be a meeting; and the slatternly girl who answered said, "Yes, but they haven't come yet," and banged the door in my face, as though she did not affect the Latter-day Saints. I had to walk up and down; and really began to think the people would know me in Penton Street. I saw my comely stationer in her little candle-lit shop, and should certainly have invested in another note-book, only I saw her husband—or one whom I presumed to stand in that relation—behind the counter with her, and I did not quite know what the consequences might be, if I went in and abruptly announced myself as coming from the Mormonite meeting-house to talk to his wife. So I recommenced my sentinel walk.

I had seen, but not noticed particularly, two indi-

viduals muffled in Inverness capes, with brigand hats pulled over their brows, and was thinking what an opening Mr. G. P. R. James might have made out of this circumstance as we passed and re-passed each other in that slummy street. I felt sure they were "Saints;" but it was not until after about our twentieth *rencontre* that two Transatlantic beards emerged above the surface of those swathing cloaks, and at the same time each of the strangers looked out from below his *sombrero* upon me, and I found they were no strangers, but my old friends Elder Burton and the barber—and the barber was no more anonymous, for Elder Burton anticipated my greeting of the tonsorial professsor by saying by way of introduction, "Mr. Squires; you know Mr. Squires, don't you?" I did; and felt rejoiced that Mr. Squires and his double household could now go down to history with their proper cognomens.

Contrary to my expectations, the Saints *did* go to the illuminations; at least none of them turned up for Prayer Meeting that particular Thursday evening while I waited, and I stopped latish. By the advice of Elder Burton I determined not to come again on a week night, but to time my visit on a Sunday, when I should hear some preaching.

Pending that experience, it may not be amiss to add a quotation or two from the "Answers to Questions," especially on those fundamental points where the majority of readers will probably require to be

informed, as I did myself prior to my visit to Elder Burton. The information as to Utah and Salt Lake City is exceedingly interesting, and calculated very much to enlarge one's notions on the gigantic scale of the plans carried out by this strange Society. But, apart from the fact that these more mundane matters have been fully described by Mr. Hepworth Dixon and others, I feel that I have scarcely space for them here; even if their insertion would be quite congruous with my present purpose; which, it may be necessary occasionally to remind my readers, is definitely a religious one.

The preface to the work runs thus:—

"As President Brigham Young and the Church authorities are frequently called upon for information pertaining to the Church history, also the history and settlement of these valleys of the mountains, with the educational, agricultural, horticultural, and irrigation statistics pertaining thereto, &c., it has been deemed wisdom to write and collate such items as would satisfactorily answer the generality of questions propounded; hence the publication of this pamphlet has been undertaken with the sincere hope that all honest inquirers after the truth of the Latter-day Work and the material development of the resources of these mountains, may be refreshed and gratified by the perusal thereof.

"Historian's Office,
"*Salt Lake City, July*, 1869."

On the subject of the original revelation the following "History" is from the pen of President Joseph Smith, and was written by him in 1842, for publication in the Chicago *Democrat* :—

"I was born in the town of Sharon, Windsor County, Vermont, on the 23rd of December, A.D. 1805. When ten years old, my parents removed to Palmyra, New York, where we resided about four years, and from thence we removed to the town of Manchester.

"My father was a farmer and taught me the art of husbandry. When about fourteen years of age, I began to reflect upon the importance of being prepared for a future state, and upon inquiring the plan of salvation, I found that there was a great clash in religious sentiment; if I went to one society, they referred me to one plan, and another to another, each one pointing to his own particular creed as the *summum bonum* of perfection. Considering that all could not be right, and that God could not be the author of so much confusion, I determined to investigate the subject more fully, believing that if God had a church, it would not be split up into factions, and that if he taught one society to worship one way, and administer in one set of ordinances, he would not teach another principles which were diametrically opposed. Believing the word of God, I had confidence in the declaration of James, 'If any man lack wisdom, let him ask of God, who giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not, and it shall be given

him.' I retired to a secret place in a grove and began to call upon the Lord. While fervently engaged in supplication, my mind was taken away from the objects with which I was surrounded, and I was enwrapped in a heavenly vision, and saw two glorious personages, who exactly resembled each other in features and likeness, surrounded with a brilliant light which eclipsed the sun at noonday. They told me that all religious denominations were believing in incorrect doctrines, and that none of them was acknowledged of God as His church and kingdom. And I was expressly commanded to 'go not after them;' at the same time receiving a promise that the fulness of the gospel should at some future time be made known unto me.

"On the evening of the 21st of September, A.D. 1823, while I was praying unto God, and endeavouring to exercise faith in the precious promises of Scripture, on a sudden, a light like that of day, only of a far purer and more glorious appearance and brightness, burst into the room; indeed, the first sight was as though the house was filled with consuming fire; the appearance produced a shock that affected the whole body; in a moment a personage stood before me, surrounded with a glory yet greater than that with which I was already surrounded. This messenger proclaimed himself to be an angel of God, sent to bring the joyful tidings, that the covenant which God made with ancient Israel was at

hand to be fulfilled, that the preparatory work for the second coming of the Messiah was speedily to commence; that the time was at hand for the gospel, in all its fulness, to be preached in power unto all nations, that a people might be prepared for the millennial reign.

"I was informed that I was chosen to be an instrument in the hands of God to bring about some of His purposes in this glorious dispensation.

"I was also informed concerning the aboriginal inhabitants of this country, and shown who they were, and from whence they came; a brief sketch of their origin, progress, civilization, laws, governments, of their righteousness and iniquity, and the blessings of God being finally withdrawn from them as a people, was made known unto me. I was also told where there were deposited some plates, on which were engraven an abridgment of the records of the ancient prophets that had existed on this continent. The angel appeared to me three times the same night, and unfolded the same things. After having received many visits from the angels of God, unfolding the majesty and glory of the events that should transpire in the last days, on the morning of the 22nd of September, A.D. 1827, the angel of the Lord delivered the records into my hands.

"These records were engraven on plates which had the appearance of gold; each plate was six inches wide and eight inches long, and not quite so thick as

common tin. They were filled with engravings, in Egyptian characters, and bound together in a volume, as the leaves of a book, with three rings running through the whole. The volume was something near six inches in thickness, a part of which was sealed. The characters on the unsealed part were small and beautifully engraved. The whole book exhibited many marks of antiquity in its construction, and much skill in the art of engraving. With the records was found a curious instrument, which the ancients called 'Urim and Thummim,' which consisted of two transparent stones set in the rim of a bow fastened to a breastplate.

"Through the medium of the Urim and Thummim I translated the record, by the gift and power of God.

"In this important and interesting book the history of ancient America is unfolded, from its first settlement by a colony that came from the Tower of Babel at the confusion of languages, to the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that America in ancient times had been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the Tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem, about six hundred years before Christ. They were principally Israelites, of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time that the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inheritance of the

country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle towards the close of the fourth century. The remnant are the Indians that now inhabit this country. This book also tells us that our Saviour made his appearance upon this continent after his resurrection, that he planted the gospel here in all its fulness and richness and power and blessing; that they had apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, and evangelists; the same order, the same priesthood, the same ordinances, gifts, powers, and blessings as were enjoyed on the eastern continent; that the people were cut off in consequence of their transgressions; that the last of their prophets who existed among them was commanded to write an abridgment of their prophecies, history, &c., and to hide it up in the earth, and that it should come forth and be united with the Bible for the accomplishment of the purposes of God in the last days. For a more particular account I would refer to the Book of Mormon, which can be purchased at Nauvoo, or from any of our travelling elders.

"As soon as the news of this discovery was made known, false reports, misrepresentations and slander flew, as on the wings of the wind, in every direction; the house was frequently beset by mobs, and evil designing persons. Several times I was shot at, and very narrowly escaped, and every device was made use of to get the plates away from me, but the power and blessing of God attended me, and several began to believe my testimony.

"On the 6th of April, 1830, the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints' was first organized in the town of Fayette, Seneca County, State of New York. Some few were called and ordained by the spirit of revelation and prophecy, and began to preach as the spirit gave them utterance, and though weak, yet were they strengthened by the power of God, and many were brought to repentance, were immersed in the water, and were filled with the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands. They saw visions and prophesied, devils were cast out, and the sick healed by the laying on of hands. From that time the work rolled forth with astonishing rapidity."

I suppose no one can read these records without tracing them to their evident source as a sort of coarse reproduction of Mahommedanism. The revelation on the subject of celestial marriage is somewhat lengthy, but I have tried in vain to abridge it and at the same time to preserve its characteristic style. I therefore give it at length, and fancy the impression of my readers will be something like my own—that the revelation leans much more to the interests of Joseph than of Emma Smith:—

"REVELATION ON CELESTIAL MARRIAGE,

"GIVEN TO JOSEPH SMITH, NAUVOO, JULY 12TH, 1843, NOT PUBLISHED TILL 1852.

"1. Verily, thus saith the Lord unto *you*, my servant Joseph, that inasmuch as *you* have inquired

of my hand, to know and understand wherein I, the Lord, justified my servants Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, as also Moses, David, and Solomon, my servants, as touching the principle and doctrine of their having many wives and concubines, behold! and lo, I am the Lord *thy* God, and will answer *thee* as touching this matter; therefore, prepare thy heart to receive and obey the instructions which I am about to give unto *you;* for all those who have this law revealed unto them must obey the same; for behold! I reveal unto you a new and an everlasting covenant; and if ye abide not that covenant, then are ye damned; for no one can reject this covenant, and be permitted to enter into my glory; for all who will have a blessing at my hands, shall abide the law which was appointed for that blessing, and the conditions thereof, as was instituted from before the foundation of the world; and as pertaining to the new and everlasting covenant, it was instituted for the fulness of my glory; and he that receiveth a fulness thereof, must and shall abide the law, or he shall be damned, saith the Lord God.

"2. And verily I say unto you, that the conditions of this law are these:—All covenants, contracts, bonds, obligations, oaths, vows, performances, connexions, associations, or expectations, that are not made, and entered into, and sealed, by the Holy Spirit of promise, of him who is anointed, both as well for time and for all eternity, and that too most holy, by revelation and commandment through the medium of mine anointed,

whom I have appointed on the earth to hold this power (and I have appointed unto my servant Joseph to hold this power in the last days, and there is never but one on the earth at a time, on whom this power and the keys of this Priesthood are conferred), are of no efficacy, virtue or force, in and after the resurrection from the dead; for all contracts that are not made unto this end, have an end when men are dead.

"3. Behold! mine house is a house of order, saith the Lord God, and not a house of confusion. Will I accept of an offering, saith the Lord, that is not made in my name? Or will I receive at your hands that which I have not appointed? And will I appoint unto you, saith the Lord, except it be by law, even as I and my Father ordained unto you before the world was? I am the Lord thy God, and I give unto you this commandment, that no man shall come unto the Father but by me, or by my word, which is my law, saith the Lord; and everything that is in the world, whether it be ordained of men, by thrones, or principalities, or powers, or things of name, whatsoever they may be, that are not by me, or by my word, saith the Lord, shall be thrown down, and shall not remain after men are dead, neither in nor after the resurrection, saith the Lord your God; for whatsoever things remaineth, are by me; and whatsoever things are not by me, shall be shaken and destroyed.

"4. Therefore, if a man marry him a wife in the world, and he marry her not by me, nor by my word;

and he covenant with her so long as he is in the world, and she with him, their covenant and marriage is not of force when they are dead, and when they are out of the world; therefore they are not bound by any law when they are out of the world; therefore, when they are out of the world, they neither marry, nor are given in marriage; but are appointed angels in heaven, which angels are ministering servants, to minister for those who are worthy of a far more, and an exceeding, and an eternal weight of glory; for these angels did not abide my law, therefore they cannot be enlarged, but remain separately and singly, without exaltation, in their saved condition, to all eternity, and from henceforth are not Gods, but are angels of God, for ever and ever.

"5. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife, and make a covenant with her for time and for all eternity, if that covenant is not by me, or by my word, which is my law, and is not sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, through him whom I have anointed and appointed unto this power,—then it is not valid, neither of force when they are out of the world, because they are not joined by me, saith the Lord, neither by my word; when they are out of the world, it cannot be received there, because the angels and the Gods are appointed there, by whom they cannot pass; they cannot, therefore, inherit my glory, for my house is a house of order, saith the Lord God.

"6. And again, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife by my word, which is my law, and by

the new and everlasting covenant, and it is sealed unto them by the Holy Spirit of promise, by him who is anointed, unto whom I have appointed this power, and the keys of this Priesthood; and it shall be said unto them, ye shall come forth in the first resurrection; and if it be after the first resurrection, in the next resurrection; and shall inherit thrones, kingdoms, principalities, and powers, dominions, all heights and depths—then shall it be written in the Lamb's Book of Life that he shall commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood; and if he abide in my covenant, and commit no murder whereby to shed innocent blood, it shall be done unto them in all things whatsoever my servant hath put upon them, in time, and through all eternity, and shall be of full force when they are out of the world; and they shall pass by the angels, and the Gods, which are set there, to their exaltation and glory in all things, as hath been sealed upon their heads, which glory shall be a fulness and a continuation of the seeds for ever and ever.

"7. Then shall they be Gods, because they have no end; therefore shall they be from everlasting to everlasting, because they continue; then shall they be above all, because all things are subject unto them; then shall they be Gods, because they have all power, and the angels are subject unto them.

"8. Verily, verily I say unto you, except ye abide my law, ye cannot attain to this glory; for strait is the gate and narrow the way that leadeth unto the exaltation and continuation of the lives, and few there

be that find it, because ye receive me not in the world, neither do ye know me. But if ye receive me in the world, then shall ye know me, and shall receive your exaltation, that where I am, ye shall be also. This is eternal lives, to know the only wise and true God, and Jesus Christ, whom He hath sent. I am He. Receive ye, therefore, my law. Broad is the gate and wide the way that leadeth to the death, and many there are that go in thereat, because they receive me not, neither do they abide in my law.

"9. Verily, verily I say unto you, if a man marry a wife according to my word, and they are sealed by the Holy Spirit of promise, according to mine appointment, and he or she shall commit any sin or transgression of the new and everlasting covenant whatever, and all manner of blasphemies, and if they commit no murder, wherein they shed innocent blood—yet they shall come forth in the first resurrection, and enter into their exaltation; but they shall be destroyed in the flesh, and shall be delivered unto the buffetings of Satan unto the day of redemption, saith the Lord God.

"10. The blasphemy against the Holy Ghost, which shall not be forgiven in the world, nor out of the world, is in that ye commit murder, wherein ye shed innocent blood, and assent unto my death, after ye have received my new and everlasting covenant, saith the Lord God; and he that abideth not this law, can in nowise enter into my glory, but shall be damned, saith the Lord.

"11. I am the Lord thy God, and will give unto thee the law of my Holy Priesthood, as was ordained by me, and my Father, before the world was. Abraham received all things, whatsoever he received, by revelation and commandment, by my word, saith the Lord, and hath entered into his exaltation, and sitteth upon his throne.

"12. Abraham received promises concerning his seed, and of the fruit of his loins—from whose loins ye are, namely, my servant Joseph—which were to continue so long as they were in the world; and as touching Abraham and his seed, out of the world they should continue; both in the world and out of the world should they continue as innumerable as the stars; or if ye were to count the sand upon the sea shore, ye could not number them. This promise is yours, also, because ye are of Abraham, and the promise was made unto Abraham; and by this law are the continuation of the works of my Father wherein he glorifieth Himself. Go ye, therefore, and do the works of Abraham; enter ye into my law, and ye shall be saved. But if ye enter not into my law ye cannot receive the promise of my Father, which he made unto Abraham.

"13. God commanded Abraham, and Sarah gave Hagar to Abraham to wife. And why did she do it? Because this was the law, and from Hagar sprang many people. This, therefore, was fulfilling, among other things, the promises. Was Abraham therefore

under condemnation? Verily, I say unto you, *Nay;* for I, the Lord, commanded it. Abraham was commanded to offer his son Isaac; nevertheless, it was written, thou shalt not kill. Abraham, however, did not refuse, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness.

"14. Abraham received concubines, and they bare him children, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness, because they were given unto him, and he abode in my law, as Isaac also, and Jacob did none other things than that which they were commanded; and because they did none other things than that which they were commanded, they have entered into their exaltation, according to the promises, and sit upon thrones, and are not angels, but are Gods. David also received many wives and concubines, as also Solomon and Moses my servants; as also many others of my servants, from the beginning of creation until this time; and in nothing did they sin, save in those things which they received not of me.

"15. David's wives and concubines were given unto him, of me, by the hand of Nathan, my servant and others of the Prophets who had the keys of this power; and in none of these things did he sin against me, save in the case of Uriah and his wife, and therefore he hath fallen from his exaltation, and received his portion; and he shall not inherit them out of the world, for I gave them unto another, saith the Lord.

"16. I am the Lord thy God, and I gave unto thee, my servant Joseph, an appointment, and restore all things; ask what ye will, and it shall be given unto you according to my word. And as ye have asked concerning adultery—verily, verily I say unto you, if a man receiveth a wife in the new and everlasting covenant, and if she be with another man, and I have not appointed unto her by the holy anointing, she hath committed adultery, and shall be destroyed. If she be not in the new and everlasting covenant, and she be with another man, she has committed adultery; and if her husband be with another woman, and he was under a vow, he hath broken his vow, and hath committed adultery; and if she hath not committed adultery, but is innocent, and hath not broken her vow, and she knoweth it, and I reveal it unto you, my servant Joseph, then shall you have power, by the power of my Holy Priesthood, to take her, and give her unto him that hath not committed adultery, but hath been faithful, for he shall be made ruler over many; for I have conferred upon you the keys and power of the Priesthood, wherein I restore all things, and make known unto you all things in due time.

"17. And verily, verily I say unto you, that whatsoever you seal on earth, shall be sealed in heaven; and whatsoever you bind on earth, in my name, and by my word, saith the Lord, it shall be eternally bound in the heavens; and whose soever sins you

remit on earth, shall be remitted eternally in the heavens; and whose soever sins you retain on earth, shall be retained in heaven.

"18. And again, verily I say, whomsoever you bless, I will bless, and whomsoever you curse, I will curse, saith the Lord; for I, the Lord, am thy God.

"19. And again, verily I say unto you, my servant Joseph, that whatsoever you give on earth, and to whomsoever you give any one on earth, by my word and according to my law, it shall be visited with blessings, and not cursings, and with my power, saith the Lord, and shall be without condemnation on earth, and in heaven; for I am the Lord thy God, and will be with thee even unto the end of the world, and through all eternity; for verily, I seal upon you your exaltation, and prepare a throne for you in the kingdom of my Father, with Abraham your father. Behold, I have seen your sacrifices, and will forgive all your sins; I have seen your sacrifices, in obedience to that which I have told you; go, therefore, and I make a way for your escape, as I accepted the offering of Abraham, of his son Isaac.

"20. Verily I say unto you, a commandment I give unto mine handmaid, Emma Smith, your wife, whom I have given unto you, that she stay herself, and partake not of that which I commanded you to offer unto her; for I did it, saith the Lord, to prove you all, as I did Abraham; and that I might require an offering at your hand, by covenant and sacrifice:

and let mine handmaid, Emma Smith, receive all those that have been given unto my servant Joseph, and who are virtuous and pure before me; and those who are not pure, and have said they were pure, shall be destroyed, saith the Lord God; for I am the Lord thy God, and ye shall obey my voice; and I give unto my servant Joseph, that he shall be made ruler over many things, for he hath been faithful over a few things, and from henceforth I will strengthen him.

"21. And I command mine handmaid, Emma Smith, to abide and cleave unto my servant Joseph, and to none else. But if she will not abide this commandment, she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord; for I am the Lord thy God, and will destroy her, if she abide not in my law; but if she will not abide this commandment, then shall my servant Joseph do all things for her, even as he hath said; and I will bless him and multiply him, and give unto him an hundredfold in this world, of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, houses and lands, wives and children, and crowns of eternal lives in the eternal worlds. And again, verily I say, let mine handmaid forgive my servant Joseph his trespasses; and then shall she be forgiven her trespasses, wherein she hath trespassed against me; and I, the Lord thy God, will bless her, and multiply her, and make her heart to rejoice.

"22. And again, I say, let not my servant Joseph put

his property out of his hands, lest an enemy come and destroy him; for Satan seeketh to destroy; for I am the Lord thy God, and he is my servant; and behold! and lo, I am with him, as I was with Abraham, thy father, even unto his exaltation and glory.

"23. Now, as touching the law of the Priesthood, there are many things pertaining thereunto. Verily if a man be called of my Father, as was Aaron, by mine own voice, and by the voice of him that sent me, and I have endowed him with the keys of the power of this Priesthood, if he do anything in my name, and according to my law and by my word, he will not commit sin, and I will justify him. Let no one, therefore, set on my servant Joseph, for I will justify him, for he shall do the sacrifice which I require at his hands, for his transgressions, saith the Lord your God.

"24. And again, as pertaining to the law of the Priesthood, if any man espouse a virgin, and desire to espouse another, and the first give her consent; and if he espouse the second, and they are virgins, and have vowed to no other man, then is he justified; he cannot commit adultery, for they are given unto him; for he cannot commit adultery with that that belongeth unto him and to no one else; and if he have ten virgins given unto him by this law, he cannot commit adultery, for they belong to him, and they are given unto him, therefore is he justified. But if one or either of the ten virgins, after she is espoused, shall

be with another man, she has committed adultery, and shall be destroyed; for they are given unto him to multiply and replenish the earth, according to my commandment, and to fulfil the promise which was given by my Father before the foundation of the world; and for their exaltation in the eternal worlds, that they may bear the souls of men; for herein is the work of my Father continued, that He may be glorified.

"25. And again, verily, verily I say unto you, if any man have a wife, who holds the keys of this power, and he teaches unto her the law of my Priesthood as pertaining to these things, then shall she believe, and administer unto him, or she shall be destroyed, saith the Lord your God, for I will destroy her: for I will magnify my name upon all those who receive and abide in my law. Therefore, it shall be lawful in me, if she receive not this law, for him to receive all things whatsoever I, the Lord his God, will give unto him, because she did not administer unto him according to my word; and she then becomes the transgressor, and he is exempt from the law of Sarah, who administered unto Abraham according to the law, when I commanded Abraham to take Hagar to wife. And now, as pertaining to this law, verily, verily I say unto you I will reveal more unto you hereafter, therefore, let this suffice for the present. Behold! I am Alpha and Omega. Amen."

I shall hope to recur to the subject of these Latter-

Day Saints; it being an exigency of my form of publishing these papers, not only that I should write with a running pen, but that, in point of arrangement, they should sometimes appear to succeed each other in somewhat kaleidoscopic order, or rather, as we used to say in old Academic times, *nullo ordine, sed confusè.*

THE GOSPEL OF HELL FIRE ACCORDING TO MR. VOYSEY.

Mr. Voysey is another of those abnormal clerical existences who, like one or two of those I have already mentioned, is equally well qualified to adorn the heights of Heterodoxy, or to lie in the abysm of Orthodoxy. By his position as a clergyman of the Established Church he may share lot and inheritance in the latter; by his schismatical services at St. George's Hall he is as clearly in the ranks of Heterodoxy, and so I claim him fearlessly as my own. I don't think he would have objected if I had consulted him beforehand.

On a previous occasion, when I visited St. George's Hall for a Sunday service, now some years ago, I was struck by a certain coldness pervading the ritual; and I fancy the impression remained by me, and perhaps prevented my renewing my acquaintance. It seemed to me, I recollect, as though the body and bones of worship were there without the soul. It may be from my more extended acquaintance with Heterodoxy in general and Theism in particular that this no longer strikes me, or, at all events, not in the same degree as it did before. But it is also an

unquestioned fact that the music and other æsthetic adjuncts at St. George's have also greatly improved in the interim.

The service is still singularly like that of the Church of England, as though Mr. Voysey had not been able to shake himself free from his old encumbrances—in fact, it *is* the Church of England service most judiciously abridged, and, of course, with all the Trinitarian passages omitted. One cannot but be struck with the idea how nice it must be to be, like Mr. Voysey, one's own Bishop, Rubrics, Thirty-nine Articles, and all the rest. It is thus he describes the compilation which forms his prayer-book of the present :—

"This Form of Prayer is not compiled with the expectation of its being permanent.

"It is essential to sympathetic interest in liturgical prayers and praises that they should not be inexorably settled as to form and expression.

"At the same time, it is to be hoped, on many grounds, that this Form will receive a fair and patient trial, and that those who may take objection to any portion of it will remember that others may like that very portion best; and that if any number of people join in public worship, they can only do so by making mutual concessions.

"This Prayer Book was compiled under the conviction of the Editor's inability to adopt the old Nonconformist worship, with its long *extempore*

prayer, even had it been preferred by the congregation. He believed however that, as some form must be used, the form most likely to find acceptance would be one which was already partly familiar to English ears, and yet stripped of all that has become obsolete and out of harmony with a pure Theism.

"He commends the 'Revised Prayer Book' to the consideration of those who may be called upon to take an active part in the reformation of the English Church and Liturgy.

"The Psalms are retained, after being relieved of those maledictions and mournful complaints which had only or chiefly a temporary and local value.

"Some expressions have been retained simply for their poetry or quaintness, and others have not been excluded for fear of marring their context. What has been aimed at is to provide a reasonable Service, with the smallest degree of departure from familiar forms, which was necessary in order to exclude what the Editor considered to be erroneous or superstitious.

"The two new Services, of *Duty*, and of *Praise* and *Thanksgiving*, have been introduced for occasional use, in place of the old *Litany*, and of the old *Communion Service*. They are at best but experiments in this direction, and though time and custom may make them more acceptable than they can be at first, the Editor hopes that they will be some day replaced by productions far more worthy of their noble purpose."

The congregation, on the morning of my renewed

visit, seemed a sparse one, but was really large; and I could not help feeling the strangeness of the situation in going to church in a private box, since, by the courtesy of Mr. Voysey, I was thus luxuriously provided for. He had begun the service when I got there, reading from a rostrum placed in front of the stage, as at the Sunday afternoon lectures; but a quasi-ecclesiastical appearance was added by a Glastonbury chair in its rear; and the drop-scene was also replaced with a large crimson curtain, partially looped up in the centre, to allow the voices of the choir, who were placed behind, to penetrate into the hall. In place of the "Psalms for the day" they sang the 103rd Psalm only, from a selection at the end of the Service Book, to a florid Anglican chant, the effect of the unseen chorus being almost operatic in character. Then Mr. Voysey, instead of a Lesson from the Old Testament, "or from some other ancient writings," as prescribed in his Office Book, read the following passage from F. W. Newman's "Theism:"—

RIGHTS OF ANIMALS.

How pleasant it is to see beautiful creatures, otherwise wild,
Become tame and trustful to the hand of man,
Or at least not terrified by his near approaches!
As when the gentle fallow-deer loves to be fondled,
And the hare and the pheasant are not scared,
Or the stork calmly builds its nest on the housetops.
The life of such animals may be taken for man's need,
Yet it is not indifferent in what way it be taken;
Whether so as only to cut short the days of the individual,
Or so as also to distress and terrify the living,

Chasing them from pleasant haunts into distant refuges less hospitable,
And filling them with terror of man, their enemy.
The more intelligent the animal the worse the infliction;
For he remembers both the causes of danger and its neighbourhoods,
And by his sagacity shuns new encounter with the more powerful.
Thus the beaver is driven from his rivers and favourite pools,
Thus the gentle seal, massacred in heaps by sailors,
Forsakes milder seas and its well-known creeks,
Plunging into drearier mist and further ice,
Which punish not undeservedly the too relentless persecutor,
Who thought but for momentary gain by promiscuous slaughter,
And slighting all rights of animals, was unwise for his own future.

That all living things have some rights, no one will deny;
For wanton cruelty is universally condemned:
Yet the limits of their rights have been scarcely discussed,
Nor the diverse rights of diverse animals
Under circumstances diverse, such as tame and wild.
The tame creature which receives and gives affection,
Is with most humane persons a sacred life;
Nor will many approve to slaughter a pet lamb
Or a much fondled gazelle, for daintiness and avarice;
Though for any real necessity the same cannot be disapproved.
The creatures that multiply under man's care and protection,
Which in some sense may be said to have bestowed life upon them,
These creatures, if not admitted into personal attachment,
Nor endowed with sagacity to foresee or to remember deaths,
Are slain for man's use without moral mischief;
Even if Brahmins or Vegetarians feebly object.
Not but even here caution may justly be entered
Against *so* inflicting death as to wound those who live.
To kill a calf while the mother will grieve for it,
Does not merely shorten a life, but tortures maternal feeling,
Which exists in the cow less intelligently than in the woman,
Yet not less truly or less unfailingly:
And though man's nobler life is well fed by animal life,
Yet daintiness of appetite, though in a man, is less noble
Than maternal affection, though it be but in a cow:
And a better morality than that hitherto called Christian
Will hereafter enact the limit of our rights over the animal.

In fact, over wild creatures, which man has never protected,

Nor fed, nor in any way reared, we have no direct claim;
For neither strength over weakness, nor cunning over simplicity,
Gives any validity of right, except for protection and government.
But the creatures which exist without mutual affection,
Having neither family life nor maternal sentiment,
Living for themselves alone, grieving for none,
Have not even the rudiments of morality or of moral rights:
And where life is wholly unmoral, we are free to take it.
Thus man captures and devours the fish of seas and rivers,
As innocently as the same fish devour one another,
Violating no tender affection nor engendering moral evil.
Less clear by far is the case with animals intelligent and affectionate,
Which love their own comrades and resent their wrongs:
As the troops of walrus and seal assemble for vengeance,
If but one of their own band has been harmfully assailed,
And mourn over the slaughtered, and piteously remember the place—
Creatures sensible and kind, not less sagacious than dogs,
Curious of man's ways and of the sweet sounds of music,
So that, but for their marine life, sea-dogs would be our faithful friends.
Surely to harass these creatures is not without its evil
In the eye of a great God who inspires their mutual love.
Nor can other destructive commercial hunting be approved,
As where the majestic bison ranges the prairie,
Cut off by wild forest and swamp from inhabited lands;
The hunters, incited by trade, kill the noble game without measure,
Strewing the ground with (it may be) four hundred huge carcases,
And carry away but four hundred wretched *tongues!*
Many such are the enormities where Law cannot reach.

While human tribes shall live on the grounds of the bear and the wolf,
Driven thither by tyrannies, or detained by ignorance
And by bodily habits half assimilated to the brutal,
So long the wild seal must perish for the wild man.
But the times of man's misgovernment are not to be eternal,
Nor can eternal morality be framed out of transitory facts;
And those who have learnt well that the Moral is higher than the Material,
Will not despise tender sentiment though in the bosom of ape or bear.
The Turk, the Arab, the Indian—men individually savage—
Are often taught by religion to revere God's gift of life,
And to abhor destroying life save for security or need.
To enjoy acts of slaughter, and the sport of killing,

Belonged (once upon a time) to none but rude barbarians,
In whom hunting had engenderd a love of mere destruction:
It is reserved for modern times, and pre-eminently for Christians,
That humane and refined men should sport with deeds of blood,
Killing and wounding the timid, the feeble, the beautiful,
Not for food nor even for daintiness, but for the pride of skill.
What tender and thoughtful heart will call such pastime pleasure,
And think without compunction over the lingerings of the wounded?

I had no idea until I came to copy out this extract that it was in any sense rhythmical. Neither Mr. Voysey's recitation nor the subject matter seemed to favour such a supposition. In fact, it was only by the mechanical arrangement of the printing that I discovered it. Mr. Martin Tupper no longer stands alone! "As to the form of work," says Professor Newman himself, "I will only say that (after experiments of a common style) it was adopted for reasons which seemed to me adequate, but which it is unavailing to produce. In a matter of taste those who are not satisfied without argument are seldem convinced by argument."

The Venite followed, beautifully sung as a tenor solo with chorus, and then, in like manner, a Second Lesson was taken from the "Heteropathy" of Miss Frances Power Cobbe.

The Jubilate succeeded the Second Lesson; and then, after the Suffrages which follow the Creed in the Church of England service, and a few collects and prayers, came a singularly beautiful and effective Benediction Service, occupying the position of the

Litany. This is so characteristic as to deserve being transcribed at length:—

¶ *Then shall follow the Service of Benediction.*

¶ *The Minister standing, the People kneeling.*

Minister. Blessed are all they who love the Lord, and who walk in His ways. Blessed are they who keep His commandments, and do those things which are pleasing in His sight.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are they who search diligently for the truth, loving it above all earthly reward, and sacrificing all else that they may faithfully proclaim it.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are they who love mankind, whose lives are spent in doing good, who are active in labour, tender in sympathy, and the well-springs of help and consolation.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the upright and trustworthy, whose promise is never broken, and whose word is sure.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the pure whose hearts shrink from iniquity, in whose lips there is no guile, and to whom all things are pure.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the merciful who remember their own need of mercy; the humble, who judge not harshly their brothers' sin; and the meek, who are slow to take offence.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the patient, long-suffering, and forbearing; and the peacemakers, who by silence or timely speech heal the strifes of men.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the kind, considerate, and generous masters, who take thought for the souls and bodies of those who serve them.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the diligent, faithful, and honest servants, who care more to serve well than to receive much.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the husbands and wives who live together in faithful love, tenderly caring for each other's good.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the fathers and the mothers who rule their households well, and bring up their children in the paths of holiness and peace.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the children who love and obey their parents, and dwell together in unity, learning wisdom and virtue, and growing more truthful, honourable, and pure from day to day.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are all faithful friends who comfort each other in sorrow, rejoice together in prosperity, and whose friendship cannot be shaken by a timely reproof.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are they who, living under the clouds of sorrow or disappointment themselves, are yet sources of comfort to others, and shed peace and joy on all around them.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the honest teachers, who are loyal to truth and duty, and who suffer in mind, body, or estate through their own integrity.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are the faithful guardians of other men's lives, rich or poor, who honour all men, and speak unto others as they would men should speak unto them.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are they who care more for the good of others, and for their own growth in virtue, than for their own pleasure and worldly good, and who value the approval of conscience more than their necessary food.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

Minister. Blessed are all they who have learned by the integrity of their own lives that God is just and holy; who have learned by the generosity of their own hearts that God is merciful and loving; and who have learned by their own trustworthiness to commit the well-being of themselves, and of all mankind, without one doubt or fear, into His hands as unto a Faithful Creator.

People. Lord, enrich us with thy blessing,
Fill our hearts with joy and peace.

¶ *Then the Minister shall say,*

Let us Pray.

O LORD most High, Thou fount and source of every blessing, who hast ever been unto us more than we could desire or deserve, fill our souls with all holy desires, all good counsels, and all pure purposes, that we may outgrow our selfishness, our weakness and our sin, and become more and more what thou dost wish us to be. So cleanse our inmost hearts that we may forget every thought of our own pleasure in desiring and striving only to do Thy blessed will and to give peace and comfort to each other. May we hunger and thirst after righteousness, and leave every issue of good and ill fortune, of health and disease, of life and death, now and evermore, in Thy most loving hands. Amen.

¶ *Then shall follow the Hymn,*

Father! whate'er of earthly bliss
  Thy Sovereign will denies,
Accepted at Thy throne of Grace
  Let this petition rise.

Give me a calm and thankful heart
  From every murmur free;
The blessings of Thy Grace impart,
  That I may live to Thee.

Let the sweet hope that I am Thine
  My life, my death attend;
Thy presence through my journey shine,
  And crown my journey's end. Amen.

¶ *Then the Minister shall say,*

The blessing of the Lord it maketh rich, and he addeth no sorrow therewith. Thou, oh Father, wilt keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on Thee, because he trusteth in Thee.

People. Trust ye in the Lord for ever, for in the Lord alone is everlasting strength. Amen.

And the whole service concluded with the following Hymn of Praise, taken from the Epilogus of F. W. Newman's "Theism:"—

We praise thee in thy power, O God!
We praise thee in thy sanctity.
We praise thee who reignest in the furthest heavens,
We praise thee who dwellest in our inmost souls,
  Our Lord and hidden comforter.
No voice can duly proclaim thy greatness,
No heart can comprehend thy goodness,
O thou Father of all our spirits.
The longings of the spirit are inexhaustible:
Only thou canst fill the heart.
When it is empty and aching for thee,
Hungering and thirsting for thy righteousness,
Thou visitest it with peace unspeakable.
With thee there is no misery to the distressed;
But sorrow is hallowed and pain is sweetened,
And hardship is assuaged, and fear is calmed.
For, thine own nature is blessedness,
And thou makest thy worshippers blessed.
  Yea, blessed is thy presence, O Lord most Holy!
Blessed is it to dwell with thee and to know thee,
To rest on thee and to serve thee.
Blessed shall the nations be when thy glory is recognised,
When all who love thee unite to succour and raise the weak.
Strengthen us in life and death, in this, and in every life,
To be thine in heart, as we are thine in right;
To obey cheerfully, to strive loyally,
To suffer meekly, to enjoy thankfully,

So shall we love thee while we live, and partake of thy joy,
And triumph over sorrow, and fulfil thy work,
And be numbered with thy saints, and die on thy bosom.

The sermon which succeeded was rather an unfortunate one. I had lighted upon the concluding discourse of a series on "Recreation," which was valuable only as an evidence of the bearing of Theism on social questions. In a previous discourse of the series, wherein I was obliged to post myself up, I found the following "canons" of recreation laid down:—

"And this brings us to the enunciation of those principles which ought to guide us in the matter of recreation.

"1. It must be *bonâ fide*, necessary, and beneficial. A man has no right to play till moderately wearied by wholesome work.

"2. It must be really amusing and pleasurable to all parties joining in it. It must not be toil in disguise. It must enliven and refresh, and certainly not be a bore.

"3. It must, whenever possible, be a participated and not a solitary pleasure. It must, on no account, infringe on the happiness or rights of others.

"4. It must tend to elevate, and not to degrade character, to refine the feelings and tastes, and not to deepen their coarseness. Hence,

"5. It must not in any degree tend to indecency or unchastity; nor to ill-temper and strife.

"6. It must not involve the least degree of cruelty to man or beast.

"7. It must not degenerate from being a wholesome restorer of jaded faculties into a vicious stimulant of any of the passions—gambling and revelry are illustrations of this degeneration.

"8. It must ever be regulated by temperance. Too much play is as bad as too much sleep, and worse than too much work.

"9. It must be regulated by a due regard to the circumstances in which it is to be enjoyed. If it necessarily leads into bad company, or renders needful any relaxation of the rules of strict honour, or purity, or goodwill, then it is dangerous and pernicious.

"10. It must be selected with a due regard to individual requirements, and not forced upon any person by public or social pressure against his will. (I refer here more particularly to the tyranny exercised in public schools by the boys over each other in the matter of joining in games.)"

Now here are ten canons or principles which I believe many persons will approve as rules for our guidance in the matter of play. Without doubt, you will all be able to think of some other which I have forgotten, and which I shall be very thankful to be reminded of. At all events, for the present, we have enough to work upon, and indeed more than we shall have time to attend to this morning.

"Applying these principles to some of our popular amusements, we discover at once their faults and their merits."

Perhaps the most important of such "applications" was that affecting the drama, the comparison of theatre-going with church-going being likely, I fancy, to make Mr. Voysey a very popular "director" with Young England:—

"We will begin with the theatres, as being by far the most popular and most delightful of all our places of public amusement. We can see almost at a glance that some theatrical performances do, and some do not, stand the test which I would apply to them. Those which do are to some persons the most perfect form of recreation that can be devised as a relief after overwork of the brain. They are *per se* amusing or interesting, and pleasurable. When they are moderately long they are absolutely refreshing.

"They are eminently social, and though most of the large audiences are composed mostly of persons utterly unknown to each other, their pleasure is considerably heightened by unspoken sympathy, and by the possibility of joining together in grateful plaudits.

"Moreover, many plays have a directly refining influence on the character and tastes, conveying moral truths home to the hearts of the spectators in such a

manner as to make a lasting beneficial impression. Those plays of which I speak are pre-eminently chaste to the eye and to the ear, and involve no painful efforts on the part of the actors. They soothe and do not stimulate; they may be frequented in the best possible company, and the practice of attending them involves no more sacrifice of honour, purity, or goodwill, than going to church—in fact, the latter is sometimes open to this objection.

"In the last place, applying our 10th canon, attendance at a theatre is not compulsory, not so needful as a passport into good society as attendance at a place of worship."

The sermon which I heard on the occasion I now refer to was of the same character; and, like the lessons which had preceded it, might have been designed to lead up to an impending collection on behalf of the Society for Preventing Cruelty to Animals. Taking as his text Proverbs xii. 10, Mr. Voysey assumed the cudgels for game and fish, waxing very wroth with Canon Kingsley, who had included among the signs of muscular Christianity a proclivity for fox-hunting. He quoted, though without quite endorsing, St. Jerome's doubt as to whether a sportsman could be canonized into a Saint. Then he passed on to athletic sports; but reserved all his vials of wrath for croquet—poor innocent curate-beloved croquet! It was, he said, a synonym for "talking

small nothings;" and, like the old lady at Brother Stiggins's meeting, when the composition of "dog's-nose" was publicly stated, I felt inclined to respond, "So it is." Cards and billiards, like theatres, were highly approved of; and bowls and skittles looked upon as marking an epoch—a sort of *aurum priscum*—from which we English of the present day had degenerated. Those games in which men and women could join were said to be the best. A smart young lady who was with me in my box suggested kiss-in-the-ring, but Mr. Voysey leaned to shuttlecock.

The sermon was curious as an instance of the bearing of Pure Theism on such minutiæ as shuttlecock to wit, but scarcely what I sought for my purpose; a more satisfactory one being that whose title I have chosen for the heading of my chapter. Mr. Voysey is greatest when he is destructive; and I venture to think the "Gospel of Hell Fire" among his happiest efforts in that direction. The very title is an invention, and should have been patented.

"*And they took the bullock which was given them, and they dressed it, and called on the name of Baal from morning even until noon, saying, O Baal, hear us. But there was no voice, neither any that answered.*"—1 Kings xviii. 26.

"There are some points of resemblance between our own times and those of Israel at the crisis spoken of in my text. Israel was then beginning to emerge

from the pagan idolatry into which the nation had sunk through contact with the aborigines of Canaan. Elijah, the prophet, was one of the most prominent agents by which the new deliverance was being effected. He brought matters to a crisis by an appeal to the people, and a challenge to the priests of Baal, 'If the Lord be God, follow Him, but if Baal, then follow him.' He would permit of no compromise. He forced the priests into an ordeal which should finally determine the claims of the rival Deities. Without committing ourselves to the acceptance of the miraculous part of the story, we can well believe that by some means which we should no longer deem legitimate, he contrived some startling effects which influenced the credulous and childish crowds around him to believe that the truth was on his side. The priests of Baal, honest enough, as their conduct proved, and steadfastly believing in the power of their god, accepted the conditions of the ordeal, and sacrificed, and waited, and prayed, and prayed, and waited for the fire from heaven, which was to be the true token. But all in vain—from morning till noon—from noon till the evening shades began to fall, their piteous cry rose to the silent sky, 'O Baal, hear us, O Baal, hear us.' 'But there was no voice, nor any that answered.' As their hope waned, and their feverish excitement waxed hotter, their devotion led them into the wildest acts of self-mutilation. Thinking their god was not satisfied with the blood of the

slaughtered bullock, they cut themselves with knives and lancets till their own blood gushed out in supplicating streams. But all in vain. The air is now rent with the despairing cry, echoed by a hundred frantic voices, 'O Baal, hear us;' and as the sun goes down, the agonizing pause is once more made, but nothing comes to break that awful stillness. 'There was no voice, neither any that answered.'

"A similar crisis in the history of orthodoxy is being enacted before us to-day. The old religion is passing away. Its corruptions have begun at last to yield under the pressure of a thousand modern Elijahs. Nobler, purer ideas of God are beginning to take root; true faith in Him and in all His dealings is beginning to supersede that awful fear of Him which led men to take refuge from Him in the arms of a deified man. Moreover, some intrepid opponents of the old religion have challenged its champions to trial by ordeal—the ordeal of prayer for visible temporal benefit, and that challenge has been wisely declined. But they have practically accepted an ordeal—not quite so easy of scrutiny perhaps, but quite as likely to act as a test as the intercessory prayer for a ward in a hospital. The champions of orthodoxy have betaken themselves to a method of proving the truth of their religion quite as hopeless as that accepted by the priests of Baal. They have resolved to invoke their God on behalf of Christian missions; and speaking as it were on Elijah's side,

we are quite content to accept the results. If by their prayers they can succeed in converting, say, one-tenth of the population of India or of the Buddhist races in the far East, we will own that there is something vital and strong in their belief. We will not admit that it is any the more true, because the spread of opinions is no criterion of their truth or falseness, but we will admit that their religion is not dead, and that there may be some efficacy in their intercessory prayers.

"The experiment was originated last year, and although as yet no accounts have reached us of a single additional convert in consequence, yet we do hear it boasted that the Missionary Funds were certainly augmented by the operation. It is possible that some of the orthodox may be short-sighted enough to think that this is quite sufficient; that so long as there is abundance of money the work of conversion is of a merely secondary importance. But the majority of good and earnest people whose hearts are set upon making good Christians out of all the idolaters under the sun, will not long be content with a large array of annual subscriptions, unless it be speedily followed up by glowing accounts of large harvests of souls. Indeed, nothing less than this will meet the question which the ordeal is intended to settle. We know very well that if a number of people agree to pray in concert on a given day for a particular object, and if, moreover, the preachers all

follow up the prayers by earnest exhortations to the people to act as well as to pray—to put their own shoulders to the wheel—we know for certain that many of those people will of necessity be impelled to do something towards that object. Some will give their money more freely, and some will surrender themselves, their whole lives, to the work. This is done every day in all kinds of enterprise, without a word of prayer to God to prosper the undertaking. It is perfectly explicable on natural grounds. Once get persons to interest themselves in anything, and the rest does itself. How much more easy is it then to gain the interests of religious persons on behalf of missionary enterprise! The subject is already of paramount importance. Those who have been themselves converted are impressed with the awful danger from which they have made their escape, and are humanely desirous to save the perishing souls of their brethren. Add to this, the influence of combined effort, the stimulating power of sensationalism, and an extra fold of solemnity, and you have an agency for immensely augmenting the funds of a Missionary Society, and of gaining missionary recruits.

"It does not follow, however, that much money and many men will do the work of conversion. Conversion is a matter which has even more to do with the subject of it than with the agencies brought to bear upon him. All will depend on his own willingness to be

converted. And that again will depend on the amount of inducement which can be brought to bear upon his will through his mind. If he sees that he will be the gainer by the exchange of his ancestral for a foreign creed; or if he can be persuaded that the foreign creed possesses a valuable truth which is wanting from his own, or is free from those errors which he has already detected and from which he recoils, then he may be willing to take the creed of the missionary into consideration. He may possibly be converted; but you cannot get an intelligent and genuine change of religious belief without these conditions. No prayer to the God of Christianity or to Baal will convert a man from a better to a worse creed, or from the creed of his forefathers to the creed of his conquerors, if it seem to him no better than his own.

"Now in many fields of missionary enterprise it is found by experience that the people whom the Christians seek to convert already hold a faith of their own quite as good as Christianity, and in some respects superior to it. At all events, the so-called 'Heathen' think so, and that is an insuperable objection to their conversion. We have tried long enough in India—150 years—to discover our utter incompetence to force Christianity upon the 110,000,000 of our Hindoo fellow-subjects. We have tried long enough, though not so long, among the Buddhists of China and Thibet, and with the same miserable result. Certain tribes of North American

Indians, believing in the Great Spirit, and trusting in His eternal friendship, would have nought to do with the doctrines of Christianity, which appeared to them quite as derogatory to the honour of God as they seem to us. On many sides, though certainly not on all, Christianity has been rejected on account of the inherent falsehoods and horrors which are taught in its name; and we venture to say that, with such doctrines on its banner, Christianity will never succeed, and never ought to succeed. It is a credit and glory to humanity that even its uncivilized and semi-barbarous races have rejected it as unworthy of a God, and immoral in its influence upon man.

"For just remember what this Gospel is which the Christian missionaries too often present to the so-called heathen. It is not only the story of a Saviour's love, of a God dying to rescue the children of His heart, of a human life on earth illumined by Divine radiance from within, of a cross on which were outstretched the arms of a world-wide sympathy, of a message of full and free pardon for the past, of a promise abounding in all hope for the future. It is not only this: for this, though it has its false side, is yet lovely and purifying, and must not be trailed in the gutter of that contempt and loathing which is the fit receptacle for the doctrines of devils which are mixed up with it. No, indeed, were it only these glad tidings which the missionary bears across the seas, even we might wish him 'God speed,' and say, 'the Lord prosper your

handiwork.' But the Gospel, such as it is preached, both in far-off lands and in the mass of churches, in the very heart and centre of civilization, such as is this day being made use of to stir up the flagging zeal of the elder, and to excite the spiritual fervour of the younger section of Christian congregations, is a Gospel of fear, and not a Gospel of Love; a Gospel not of hope, but of despair; not of salvation, but of damnation. Behind the Cross of Calvary, out of the thick darkness there looms the dread image of one who is man's natural foe; whom no one dare approach in his naked weakness and with unshielded breast. The Great Supreme, in bitter irony called 'Father of Jesus and of men,' is drawn in outlines so ghastly, and painted in colours so lurid, that the soul cannot look on that face and live. For it is a cardinal doctrine—the one, indeed, upon which the whole Christian scheme of salvation stands, and without which it falls to the ground—that Almighty God is cruel beyond all human language and thought; that no human heart in its bitterest paroxysms of revenge ever invented, no savage skill ever put in practice, the millionth part of that cruelty which they say is part of God's honour and glory. Frightful, indeed, have been the acts of violence and slow torture inflicted by men upon each other when frenzied by a sense of wrong or by religious zeal. But were all these crimes heaped together upon one head, and that one guiltiest and cruellest of mortals, to multiply his crimes through a

thousand lives, it would be but a drop in the ocean of the cruelty and injustice ascribed by the Christians to their supreme God.

"Baal, indeed, or Moloch? These were angels of pity and compassion by the side of the God of Tophet. Human sacrifices might load their altars, the flesh of young men and maidens might writhe in the withering, piercing flame, to gloat their nostrils with the noisome incense. They were loving, compassionate, and tender by the side of Him from whose eternal wrath and burning fiery vengeance we are bidden to flee to the cross of Christ.

"Is it all over at last? Has the horrid nightmare passed away? Is that Almighty Fiend at length hurled from his throne into his own abyss? Ah, my friends, we wish we could believe it; would to God that we could be quite sure that not a single soul this day in our happy land were being writhed and tortured by this ghastly fear! But while we speak strenuous efforts are being made in many of our churches to kindle afresh this burning fear of hell fire. They have tried all sorts of ways in vain; the only means of a revival in religion is to make men and women tremble. 'Flee from the wrath to come' is the theme of thousands of awakening sermons; and, although many are too humane to proclaim the fundamental doctrine in all its grossness, and others are too devout to let their minds consciously attribute everlasting torture to the hands of their God; yet it

is understood up and down the land, by every man, woman, and child, that that most awful doctrine is not only true, but is the reason why Jesus came to save them, and that endless woe must be the fate of all who have no share in his merits and death. Only last week one of these revival preachers began an agonizing discourse by screaming out to the congregation, 'Are you all saved? Are you all saved?' It would be idle to blink the facts, so patent as they are. The Alpha and Omega of orthodox religion is fear of hell fire. It is the masterpiece of superstition, the trumpet-blast which rouses millions of slumbering souls to thoughts of a coming judgment. Even when not openly proclaimed, it is alluded to as one of the unquestioned and unquestionable canons of revealed truth. And so long as men and women are slaves to this insane terror their minds are not in a condition to reason calmly upon any matter, much less to exercise any independent thought on the possibilities of the unseen world, or of their proper duties in the present. Indeed, the wonder is that, while the influence of such fear lasts, the subject of it should be otherwise than mad.

"Now, if it be to that awful fiend that the churches are all praying to help them to convert the heathen, we may take up the scornful language of Elijah, and mock them in their despair—'Cry aloud, for he is a God; either he is talking, or he is pursuing, or he is on a journey; or peradventure he sleepeth, and must

be awaked.' Cry aloud, and if your prayers will not avail, go into your wretched cells and mortify yourselves with the sternest asceticism. Cut off one by one all the charms of life, and bare your back and your soul to those thongs which are kept for the brute and the savage. From morn till noon, and noon till evening, and many a long cold hour before the break of day, rouse yourselves to your prayers; for all your wailings and lamentations, there shall be no voice, neither any to answer you. There is no such God in whom you believe. There is no almighty devil whom you think supreme; and never, while time endures, while human lips can utter a cry, or human hands can gash the throbbing veins, never shall you find answer from Heaven or from Hell. If all your work be to carry the tidings of man's great and inconceivable woe, to add to the perplexities and sorrows of pain-stricken lives, by the vision of that unquenchable furnace; to darken, blacken, and render hideous beyond all human thought and language, the face of God already clouded over by human ignorance and fear; if that be all your missionary aim, we need not waste our breath in malediction over it, or in wishing it may come to an untimely end. There is no longer room for it in this God-shining world of ours. The earth will cast it from her like a poisonous vapour, the sea will refuse to carry its messengers on her heaving breast, the rocks and hills will give the lie to

your lips, the first moment you dare open them in your blasphemy. Take it to the benighted heathen, to the cannibal, and to the kingdom of Dahomey, and even there fierce savages will turn from it with loathing and horror, and refuse to believe in a cruelty so infinite, so pitiless.

"Would you get men to listen to you, you must encourage not discourage them; you must preach justice on God's part, as well as justice between man and man. You must alter the very basis of your religion, and rear a more enlightened creed upon your new basis. You must 'speak good of God's name,' or the hearts which He has made will either laugh you to scorn or thrust you rudely from your pulpits.

"Your very Christ, in whose name you boast, and without whose protection you dare not even think of your Maker, will share the ignominy which your doctrine of Hell has brought upon the holy names of God and religion. You are playing a most perilous game of making threats in Christ's name, and inflaming your young converts with terror by visions of the 'Wrath of the Lamb.' Soon the night will be spent and the day will dawn, and the hearts which you might have won as votaries of the Nazarene, will turn from him and from his cruel threats of vengeance with as much repugnance and shame as they will turn from you.

"Be warned in time. Your prayers are all vain, for there is no one in earth or Heaven like him on whom you call. Your revival of religion is all superficial, for the fear which you have excited is only like a troubled dream, which the beams of daybreak will dispel. Your missionary zeal is labour lost, for you might as well try to convert a Caucasian into an anthropoidal ape as to persuade one who trusts in God's goodness to believe in your doctrine of everlasting Hell.

"O Missionaries, if you would earn the high praise of the Hebrew prophet, take with you words of hope and consolation. Let your mouth be filled with God's praise, and utter forth every promise of good and blessedness which loving hearts desire for their weak and erring brethren. Tell them of that inexhaustible loving-kindness which burns up all our sin and transforms the sinner into the saint, which smites only to bless, binds up every broken heart and wipes away every tear. Tell them that 'God is Love,' and 'His mercy endureth for ever,' and your glad voices shall be welcomed, and your footsteps cheered all along the pathway of life by those words of gratitude and joy, 'How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of them that bring us the glad tidings of the Gospel of peace.'"

As a sort of pendent to this sermon, Mr. Voysey preached on a subsequent Sunday upon "The Gospel

of Hope." The two discourses together give a fair sample of his teaching, both negative and positive. The following is the close of the latter sermon:—

"After being steeped so long in false notions of Heaven and Hell, we can scarcely wonder that some persons do not instinctively understand what we mean by final good. Ths old erroneous sentiment still clings to their minds, and colours their conception of what we mean by human destiny. Their idea of 'all things coming right at last,' is mixed up with two entirely false ideas, one is that 'coming right' means exclusively 'happiness,' a sense of pleasure, and the other false idea is that things can ever 'come right' at all without being made right—yes, made right mainly by ourselves. Now, the correction of one of these errors will go far to correct the other also.

"In looking forward to final good for all, the notion of happiness or sense of pleasure is not the thing present to our minds. It may be, and very likely is, inseparable from final good; but that is not the thing on which our hearts are set, and which, as we believe, God has promised to us through the yearnings of our souls. What we look forward to is goodness of soul—being made perfect, so that in whatever state we may find ourselves, we may be all that a perfectly righteous God desires us to be, and therefore in every sense an unqualified blessing to every being, human or otherwise, within reach of our conduct and

influence. Just as now the prayer of a wise and honest soul is not for mere enjoyment, not for any increase of his personal comfort, nor for any decrease of his personal trials and troubles, but for such improvement of his own character and conduct as shall make him more useful and kind to his fellow-men; so our aspirations, if they are manly and sound will not be for what are popularly called the 'joys of Heaven,' but for righteousness and true holiness, for perfect ability to love and do the perfect will of God. And this is what we believe to be the final destiny of every moral being in the universe. Whether the happiness and fulness of joy will come with it, is not only no business of ours, but having an eye to such recompense will defeat itself, will keep back one stain on the purity of soul which God would fain see without spot or blemish or any such thing. Hence it is easy to see what 'coming right at the last' really means. Nothing does or can ever 'come right' in this region of moral progress. Everything has to be put right and made right, and if not done here, it must be done hereafter. Not done for us, but done by us. God will no more help us to do what he has ordered us to do for ourselves, than He will work any miracle to the subversion of His Laws.

"Our gospel of boundless hope might turn our heads if it meant that we have a right to expect to take heaven at a bound, and to leap into all felicity without the toil and difficulty of gradual progress.

But it means no such thing, but the very reverse of this. It has one and only one promise, 'You shall succeed if you try.' Its one encouragement is 'Not a single moral effort shall be lost.' Its most powerful incentive to renewed moral effort is 'God has made you for this destiny.' You *must* become good. It is of no use your trying to evade it. It is for you only to determine how long the process shall be. You can hasten or delay it at your pleasure or at your peril. But you will be won over to goodness at last. The end is inevitable. You cannot fight against your destiny, so the sooner you yield to holy influences the better. You will have no peace until you do. You may make your path as devious, as thorny, as rugged as you choose. Its length and its hardships are all your own. As you sow, so you shall reap. Try your own way—seek only your own pleasure—resist the law of human life which commands you to live for others, and you will find yourself defeated at every turn. You will curse your own folly for your self-will. Your own gratification will become ashes in the devouring. Your pursuit of your own pleasure even in the most refined occupations, if that pleasure be all you pursue, will mock you with its emptiness and its brevity. For every defeat of the moral law, it will come back upon you with redoubled severity. 'Be sure your sin will find you out.' 'The wicked are like the troubled sea which cannot rest, whose waters cast up mire and dirt, There is no peace, saith

my God, unto the wicked.' Now we regard all this as part of the Divine order, the Providence of God, of which I spoke last Sunday.

"Most repugnant is it to my own feelings ever to descend into the old language of threatening, which disfigured the obnoxious creed of my youth. And I cannot bear to be bordering upon it now; but if the plain question is put to me 'What does it matter how we live if everything must come right in the end?' I must at once stoop from the serene calm of a nobler altitude and say, If you think it does not matter, try it. Try to live the life of an immoral animal, and do it at your peril. You will only multiply your sorrows and make your way back again up to the light of human goodness inexpressibly harder and longer. You will only be gathering round you the stings of self-reproach, and piling fuel upon fuel for your own burning. The hell of the Christians may be as untrue as it is coarse and blasphemous. But think not that because we have swept away that hideous dream, there is no torment of soul for those who break God's laws. There is anguish left in the reality of human experience quite enough to scare you from presumptuous sin, and to keep you from playing with such dangerous tools.

"We believe and we repeat without wearying, our delight in a God of infinite mercy. But we believe that His mercy shines brightest in His meting out to every transgression its exact penalty, in passing by no

offences which his chastisement can correct. 'Thou Lord art merciful,' cried the Psalmist—not for letting us off, not for punishing the innocent instead of us—but merciful 'because thou rewardest every man according to his work.' Try to escape that if you can; you might as well try to live in Nebuchadnezzar's furnace, or make your home in the depths of the sea. 'Be not deceived, God is not mocked; whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.'

"The notion then of things 'coming right' at the last is a fallacy. Once more I repeat they can only be made right by each man's own moral exertion. Supposing it to be true that such a glorious destiny is before us as that all men shall come at length to perfect holiness, instead of being turned into an encouragement to sin, it seems to make the cause of sin more hopeless than ever. It builds up a wall in that direction through which no human being can pass. He must retrace his steps. He must find the narrow way that leadeth unto life. Under the light of this Gospel of Hope, sin is visited with prompt and speedy retribution, instead of being allowed to go on with impunity, accumulating into a heavy debt, which only makes men more reckless.

"Under the old gospel a man might sin as he pleased, so long as he believed in the atoning blood at the last; and a capital chance they all had, for the instances of sudden death are very rare; and he must be a poor creature indeed who cannot get absolution

on such easy terms. But under the new gospel of final good for all, no one can ever escape the just consequences of sin, and perhaps, when we know more of its baneful effects, our sorrow will be more acute, on account of the injury inflicted by it on others. No one can ever hide himself from the accusing conscience, or deliver him from the dread spectre of remorse. If it be a question of moral influence, which is the more potent, the doctrine of final good, or the dogma of damnation ? there can be no question that the former, rightly understood, is unspeakably the more powerful, as it is unquestionably the more reasonable.

"Hell fire only exercised a deterrent effect on those who were in no danger of it, while it did not touch in the slightest degree the hearts of those who, according to theory, were going straight into it.

"The doctrine of Hope at least warns quite as much as it encourages, and promises only what we must ourselves achieve.

"I know some people brought up under the old hope and expectation, the old longing for perfect bliss on the other side of life's last fence, who cannot take kindly to this idea of *growing* good, of getting only a little better and better as the ages roll away; and who turn from it with a sigh of weariness, dreading the renewal of moral conflict in the world to come. To them I have a word of peace; we do not know any details of that which lies beyond the grave. We have no right to speak in God's name about it at all, except

only to express our fervent hope that this life is not our end, and that a future lies before each one of us for the perfection, or immortal progress, of our nature. We base this hope on our idea of God with whose perfection this future for man seems absolutely bound up. But we know not how long or how short the journey upwards may be, or what fuller knowledge awaits our exit from the earth, to make us cheerfully acquiesce in all that lies before us. Your instinct for repose may be just as true as our forecast of new toil and new conflict. Our lots may be different. God is not tied and bound by any of our speculations and fancied schemes. Do not spoil the little remnant of earthly life by forebodings of future trouble which may never come. God's will is sure to be the best for us, and if we cultivate contentment here in this first scene of our discipline, we shall be better fitted for the unknown cares and trials of the next.

"Finally, is there not something grand in the conception of human destiny which we advocate, inasmuch as it reconciles the Doctrine of Necessity with that of Freewill? God has made man sufficiently free to make it only a question of time with him when he will accomplish his own destiny; and yet man's nature is so constituted that of necessity he will come at last, of his own free will, to work out the Divine decrees.

"I cannot leave the subject of this discourse without once more deprecating the low ground of rewards and punishments which might have suited a lower stage

of mankind than that we have reached. Even if there were no God, no destiny for man hereafter, surely it still matters very much what we do and how we live. It may matter by comparison little to ourselves; but much—who shall say how much?—to those around us, and who are dependent on our hearts and lives for those crumbs of affection and sympathy which may fall from our burdened tables. My young friend, never mind about your destiny and things coming right. But if you have not a heart of stone, do care very much about your life, your conduct, your principles, your habits, and above all your motives, for your father's and mother's sake, for your brother's and sister's sake, for the sake of your betrothed, your young wife, or for your one cherished friend. Then if there be a God in Heaven, it will please Him the more to see you live righteously and soberly, out of love to your fellow-men, than if you did it out of love to Himself, or through hope of joys to come. Thank God, whatever becomes of Christianity, or even of our own glorious Faith and Hope, nothing can shake the everlasting foundations on which true virtue is built! We cannot unmake the heart of man, turn back the ceaseless flow of human progress, or quench for ever the immortal flame of Human Love."

MODERATE UNITARIANISM.

The old Court suburb of Kensington, as one of the wealthiest around London, naturally attracts to itself as a nucleus representatives of the different faiths of the metropolis. In the small space occupied by the Mall we have now no less than three places of worship. Dr. Bayley's Swedenborgian chapel stands as the embodiment of Modern Mysticism. The iron church at the bottom, in the Vicarage gardens, whose presiding genius is Archdeacon Sinclair, represents, of course, the very quintessence of Orthodoxy; and so far matters might have appeared to be evenly balanced, when lo! the Little Church in the Mall, like Aladdin's palace, suddenly appears on the scene to throw matters into confusion again; since it being occupied by the Unitarians, Heterodoxy stands in the proportion of two to one—unless, indeed, a dignitary of Archidiaconal functions be equivalent to a brace of ordinary heretics. Perhaps on none save severely etymological grounds would the occupants of this Little Church in the Mall, as it has got to be called, claim notice in a work on Heterodox London. Between themselves and some of our more advanced clergy in the Establishment there is little difference,

after all, and the very quiet way in which it dropped down in our midst was scarcely like the advent of a complete stranger.

One day there seemed a patch of waste ground in the Mall, and the next, or a very few days after, lo! a convenient iron church. But this was not all. A very attractive series of lectures was advertised for Sunday evenings by the Rev. Charles Howe, and from time to time I projected a visit, but my intention was not carried out until the Sunday when he preached the concluding sermon of the series on the very pertinent subject "A Vindication of Broad Christianity." The title must be accepted with reservation. Generally speaking, when one mentions Broad Church it is intended to designate one of the three sections into which the Establishment is broken up. The Church in the Mall, however, is none such, but belongs to what I should term Moderate Unitarians.

I hear that the present iron church has been provided for Unitarian worship through the zeal and liberality of a family well known in this city, and is only intended to be temporary. This congregation, which formerly worshipped in the Victoria Hall, Archer Street, has increased under the present minister, and has lately received the adhesion of many influential residents in the West. A Sunday school has been begun, and I learn that it is intended, at no very distant date, to build a more imposing structure on the land now partly occupied by the iron church.

I found that the morning services are liturgical, the prayer book being the "Ten Services" used by the Little Portland congregation, which has been adopted in many Unitarian churches. These services are taken in turn in the morning, but the old free Presbyterian worship is retained in the evening.

The devotional part of the service at which I was present that Sunday evening was simplicity itself, and really contained no element which prominently brought forward the distinctive tenets of the Unitarians. I notice this to be a very distinguishing feature of that body at the present moment—the desire to merge rather than parade differences. The Free Christian Church is a very common self-chosen appellation in that persuasion.

First of all we sang a hymn from the voluminous collection of the Rev. James Martineau. Then there was a brief extempore prayer, in which the minister took occasion to express his sense of thankfulness that his people prayed for themselves, instead of having some one else to pray for them. Then a lesson was read from Jeremiah iii. 12 to iv. 2; two Psalms were chanted from a pointed Psalter, with sweet harmonium accompaniment; and then a second lesson read from Acts x. Another hymn and another extempore prayer of greater length followed, concluding with the Lord's Prayer by the minister and congregation; after which came the sermon, succeeded by a third prayer, and the benediction.

The sermon—which I append verbatim—will serve as an admirable exponent of the views of the congregation worshipping in the Little Church in the Mall.

"'*Then Peter opened his mouth and said, of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons, but in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted with Him.*' — 10th chap. Acts, 34, 35.

"The short sermon whence the text is taken," said Mr. Howe, "contains an epitome of the gospel as taught by the Apostle Peter. It is worthy of remark that in it no assertion is made of the deity of Jesus Christ, no mention of the vicarious atonement as preached in this day, of election, or imputed righteousness, and other doctrines which many tell us are the essentials of Christianity. This first preacher of the new religion, who had been taught by the Master's own lips, did not inform Cornelius and his assembled kinsmen that what they had to do was to believe in a crucified Creator, with the alternative of eternal suffering. Peter simply announces Jesus of Nazareth as a heaven-sent teacher to both Jews and Gentiles, who proved his credentials by his divine works, suffered, and rose again; that God will judge the world by him, or, according to the righteous commands which Jesus promulgated, and give remission of sins to all who, accepting him as their master, frame their lives

according to his life and precepts. Any who accepted this plain exposition of Christianity were baptized, and immediately admitted into the new-born church, while the manifestation of God's own spirit in those who believed, ratified the outward rite. Are not all who desire to live and die by this plain confession of faith Christ's also? And who is justified in denying us the right to be called after his name?

"In concluding this course of lectures, which I trust has not been altogether ineffectual in dispelling some of the misapprehensions that exist with respect to the religious body in which I am permitted to minister, I venture to hope you will be able to bear me witness that throughout these discourses no hard or bitter words have fallen from this pulpit concerning those who do not understand the Bible as we do. In the interests of truth, as I have been able to perceive it, I have had to expose many errors; and especially I have denounced a narrow intolerant religious spirit, which I believe all Christian men should combine to stamp out, as we would crush a venomous reptile which had crept into our house, to the danger of life itself; or as a man would extinguish a smouldering fire, that threatens to burn down the home which shelters him. This spirit is so strong and terrible that, as history constantly informs us, it can drive out of a man's heart every sentiment of pity. Though he knows it not, the persecutor is in a more wretched case than his victim. Bigotry will make men fero-

cious who are naturally humane, and change a lamb-like spirit into that of a sanguinary tiger. Society has been compelled by wise laws, to hang as it were fetters of brass upon this spirit; and it is now so manacled that it can for the most part only scream and gibber at those who pass on the road to heaven without pronouncing its shibboleth.

I am not unmindful that it is far from easy to sustain that energy with which we ought to put forth the truth, in perfect union with the highest Christian grace of charity; but in defending his individual convictions I may assume that you have never heard a Unitarian speak of the members of other sects as 'lost souls,' by reason of the creed they sincerely held. No such thought can ever be conceived, much less spoken by a Unitarian. We do not affirm that it is of no importance what a man believes; else why have we withdrawn ourselves from other religious bodies. We know that a man's creed must have an influence on his life. But that is very different from holding that another cannot be saved unless he accepts our creed.

"I read in a pamphlet circulated in a district where Unitarianism had taken root, and was spreading, of 'the false and fatal charity of Unitarians.'

"How strange these words sound in my ears as I repeat them! Were a man to write about false and fatal Christliness it would be equally intelligible. Is not charity the very front and crown of all the

Christian virtues? Faith is to be lost in open vision, hope to be swallowed up in blissful realization, but charity is the very breath of the glorified above.

> She,
> Triumphant sister, greatest of the three,
> Shall stand before the host of heaven confessed,
> For ever blessing, and for ever blessed.

The professors of a Broad Christianity have always stood in the van of those who have fought in the cause of education. There was a time when education was thought to mean revolution, and the dissolution of those ties which thus far have held society together. But, even then, those who held our theology never spoke with a faltering tongue in favour of the instruction of the masses, but laboured with zest to bring about a national system of education which should penetrate into every village and hamlet, and give to every child born on British soil the teaching which shall cause it to respect its obligations to God and man. Some of the most eloquent advocates of freedom, religious, political, and commercial; men who dealt heavy blows at slavery; great lights of literature; philanthropists and social reformers—have professed a phase of Christianity virtually the same as that which is dear to us. Surely, if a man finds himself holding a religious belief akin to that defended by Milton, Locke, and Isaac Newton, he need not be ashamed to vindicate it. It is a faith that works; and if even it does not in any individual, no imputation is to be cast upon a Broad Christianity, which in numberless cases

has ennobled and beautified life, and afforded the most precious consolations in the hour of death.

"Not long ago it was said by a controversialist, "That Unitarians die tranquilly is no proof that their opinions are right.' Certainly not, but it is at least some evidence that they have been sincere. Conscious of great frailty, we might indeed tremble to fall into the hands of the God of Orthodoxy, but we do not shrink from a most loving and merciful Father.

"What can any religion do for a man at last more than that which we profess. With the assured hope of an immortal existence, the sincere professor of a Broad Christianity finds the religion that has always been his joy and consolation in life, does not fail him in the article of death. He has used the powers which God gave him to discover what ought to be believed; he has sought God and the truth both in and around him; at the shrine of the deity he has offered a reasonable reverent worship, and endeavoured to be useful and kindly to his fellow man. What can he have to fear at the hands of the God of all mercy? If in any matter he was mistaken, do we not all err? Is there any man who will assert that when eternity shall disclose its secrets, he will be found to have possessed absolute infallible religious truth! If there be such an one, a special revelation must have revealed it to him, and no evidence he is able to

produce would justify us in adopting conclusions which are opposed to our reason and conscience, even had we the power of will to force ourselves to accept his creed. Therefore the prospect of after felicity which a Unitarian enjoys, must be as reasonable as that of any member of another of the multitudinous sects into which the Christian world is divided. A list of these, with but a brief account of each, fills a large volume. Are all except those who hold a certain theory of salvation—the young and old, the learned and ignorant, the zealous convert to a new creed and the man born in a particular faith, who has remained in his own church without inquiry—are all these marching on the downward road? Every scheme of Christian salvation (as the phrase is), can only be compounded of men's fallible opinions, as to what is taught in the New Testament; and for a man to declare that he accepts any confession of faith when conscience and heart revolt, must be an act which merits punishment and not reward.

"I regret to say that numbers of people make no effort to understand our religious position. Many accept without inquiry reports intended to weaken our influence, and prevent the diffusion of our free principles. Because we do not formulate a creed, and impose it on all who come to us, we are said to have no religious belief. Unitarianism has been called a half-way house to infidelity. Heated zealots have

been known to declare that we are worse than Atheists. It pains me to repeat cruel charges, so often rebutted; but while they are put forth we are bound to show their gross injustice. Our religious belief is not less real and dear to us because it is built upon our individual judgment, and not upon the dictum of others. Instead of Unitarianism being a mere halting-place on the road to complete scepticism, I can offer my honest testimony that it has saved numbers personally known to me from unbelief; and had there been no alternative between accepting the creed of orthodox sects and infidelity, they and thousands more must have become infidels. With great relief and delight these found that all the hallowing influences of religion might be enjoyed and treasured without accepting a creed from which reason and heart revolted. The statement that Unitarians who pay reverent worship to the One Universal Father, and strive to keep the commandments of His Son, are worse than men who deny God and mock at Christ, is unworthy of any reply. It is plainly the language of that blind and savage spirit of bigotry which is not amenable to argument, and thinks it does God service by breaking the very laws which he has ordained.

"All religious doctrines are but 'broken lights,' finite conceptions of infinite things. As we are not constituted alike, nor capable of receiving truth in its entirety, we must have different thoughts about

theology. But while we present to God the free-will offering of grateful, trusting hearts, and lean on Him in joy and trouble, filled with an overwhelming sense of his compassion and tenderness, we are in no alarm lest He should not accept us. He asks not the naked confession of a creed, nor the religion of fear and compulsion, nor the worship of respectability. Is there here in the heart the sincere desire that it shall become right with God?—is there in the life a strenuous sustained effort to obey conscience in all things? Those are the solemn issues which each one is bound to try in that interior court which God has set up in every human soul.

"I have heard it insinuated that we continue to adhere to our opinions not without secret misgivings. I suppose every man who will have a religion of his own meets with difficulties, and passes through mental struggles in which he is not unconscious of perplexity. We do not assert that we enjoy any immunity from such mental phases. Doubt, though painful, is the mother of inquiry. Truth does not always lie upon the surface. As with the body, so with the mind; pain is often the sign of returning health. But if this charge be made especially against the professors of Broad Christianity, it is unfair and untrue. Who has the power to look into our hearts and tell the world that of which we ourselves are not conscious? Are we not justified by what we know in retorting the accusation? Men of all classes, and

of all the popular churches, make no secret of the fact that their hold on the ancient straitlaced theology is loosening every day. In social intercourse you hear them candidly declare that, though they still attend their wonted places of worship, they cannot, and do not believe the one-half of what they listen to Sunday after Sunday. Not seldom they will tell you that their faith in God and immortality, and their obedience to the behests of duty are weakened and not fortified by the crudities and contradictions mingled with a religion which, in a more rational form, they could receive and live by.

"These are not matters of surmise, but of almost daily experience, with those who continually mix with men of all conditions, and are careful to observe the veering of the theological vane.

"This is not the time when Unitarians, and generally those who in other Churches sympathize with them, need be dispirited. Hosts of books are pouring from the press in which the main principles we have long defended are taught. The unjust reproaches to which I have alluded do not fall upon us alone, but upon great scholars—German, English, and American—not members of our Church, whose lives have been devoted to the study of the Bible and the wide field of theological inquiry. The inalienable right of private judgment, which is the heritage of all Protestants, is freely exercised. A theology not greatly differing

from our own is taught in thousands of professedly Orthodox pulpits. The old forms of speech may be retained, but the soul is gone out of them. Abuse, misrepresentation, threats of future punishment, are losing their power. Men are not so easily frightened as they were; nor are the means once successful in stopping men's mouths so effectual.

"Of course, there are the timid, who dare not speak out their mind, and the time-serving, who fear that worldly interests would suffer if they proclaimed their real sentiments. This fear is now in a great degree groundless as well as unworthy. Men must respect candour and straightforwardness, and one who appears what he is, and supports the church which teaches what his conscience approves does not so commonly suffer in the end for his consistency.

"Then there are thousands of shrewd working men whose minds are in suspense. They are faithless and worshipless amidst what our orthodox brethren are wont to call 'the full blaze of Gospel truth.' The old methods have failed to reach them. Houses of prayer have multiplied in the land, but these classes are not found therein. Meanwhile our duty is clear; and if I have in these lectures expressed the sentiments which to your minds appear nearest the truth, I ask you to unite with us who are labouring in the cause of rational Christianity.

"Let us seek to stem the rush of bigotry on the one

hand, and the tide of sceptical indifference on the other, conscious in our heart of hearts that he who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God and God in him; and that all who fear God and work righteousness are accepted with him. Amen."

RITUALISTIC UNITARIANISM.

I AM well aware that this title will at first sight appear self-contradictory, or, even after mature consideration, may possibly be deemed inapplicable to the paper above which I have written it. I have paused for some moments contemplating it; I have tried others as substitutes; but after all, I find no other that quite so fitly embodies the impression on my own mind which I wish to convey to my readers; I therefore let it stand, though with any amount of reservation, and quite conceding that the two elements of which it is composed seem a little incongruous.

Setting out in search of Heterodoxy one Sunday morning, I found myself involved in a Sabbatarian difficulty. The North London Railway, by which I wished to travel, does not admit of Sabbath Days' journeys, under any consideration. My destination was Islington, and Islington is much too pious to allow Sunday pilgrims without peas in their shoes; so I had to go by omnibus.

My original intention was to attend a lecture on Spinoza, which was announced to be given under the auspices of the Humanitarian Association, on that particular Sunday, in the Claremont Hall, Penton Street.

There I presented myself at eleven o'clock, the hour appointed, and found, at the foot of the stairs leading to the Hall, a female engaged in the useful but unphilosophical pursuit of blackening boots. It was five minutes past eleven before she deigned to notice my existence, and then she informed me that "they" —by which abstraction I understood the lecturer and audience—had not come, and she did not know when they would, whereupon she relapsed into her boot-cleaning, and, being of a retiring disposition, I withdrew.

I saw no appearance of "them" in or about Penton Street, so, as time was precious, I resolved to forego Spinoza, and push on for Unity Church, Islington, where I had seen it announced the Rev. H. Ierson was to preach a sermon with the very attractive title, "This Longing after Immortality." I got late, of course, thanks to Spinoza and the boots; Mr. Ierson was reading his First Lesson as I entered Unity Church and passed unchallenged to a pew—for the seats are all free and unappropriated there.

The Church is a handsome Gothic one, with spire, and divided into nave, aisles, and transepts. No one would guess, indeed, that he was not in a church of the Establishment. Excellent stained glass filled several of the large windows in the aisles; and the east end of the church, as well as each extremity of the transepts, was lighted with a catherine-wheel window of tinted glass. Large coronæ hung from

the roof, two of them being lighted, though the day was clear and bright—such a "dim religious light" was produced by the "storied windows!" There was an altar or Holy Table, railed off in an apsidal chancel, surrounded with encaustic tiles, and appropriate texts blazoned in ecclesiastical characters, so that the *tout ensemble* was very "correct" indeed. The effect was rather marred by Mr. Ierson performing the whole service in the pulpit arrayed in his academical gown. Had he only put on a little green and gold, and thrown in a genuflexion here and there on the altar steps, we might have fancied ourselves in any Ritualistic church in London.

The service was very much of an abridgment of the Church of England Morning Prayer, but much shorter, the Psalms, for instance, being selected instead of read straight through, and the Lessons left to the discretion of the minister. After the Benedictus, and, as it were, in place of the Creed, the Beatitudes were given, the choir repeating the substance of each after it was read, and singing a kyrie after the last. The effect of this was very beautiful indeed. Then came a short litany and some prayers, the responses and amens being all choral, adapted, if I mistake not, from Tallis and Marbecke. The organ was on the north side of the chancel, and the choir, which was a mixed one, occupied several front pews close by it. The hymns were especially good, and sung to most exquisite melodies. Before the final

hymn Mr. Ierson announced that the subject of his evening sermon would be "The Catholic Church," a subject chosen "because so many were at that time struggling to find it."

But the subject of the morning—"The Desire of Immortality"—was the one which interested us most, because I had frequently heard it laid to the charge of Liberal Christianity, that it left us uncertain as to what Keats calls—

> The grandeur of the dooms
> We have imagined for the mighty dead.

How far this was the case I should now hear, and the following eloquent discourse amply proves. I give it in full, finding my own abstract meagre and unsatisfactory:—

"'*To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, eternal life.*'—Romans ii. 7.

"There was a Jewish proverb, familiar in all likelihood to the Apostle, that might have suggested the kind of expressions here employed to set forth the great aim, and the great reward of a life of virtue and piety. He speaks of seeking after honour and immortality in the way Jesus declared to be the way of eternal life, in patient well-doing. The sentiment is parallel in the more ancient saying, with the difference only—an immense one in effect, though it make no change in the principle—that now the idea

of life has expanded, it has become the life of a future and unending glory. We remember, therefore, that in the Gospel has been brought to clear light, life and immortality, when we compare with the text the words, 'He that followeth after righteousness and mercy findeth life, righteousness, and honour.' Or, as again the Apostle repeats, 'Glory, honour, and peace to every man that worketh good.' 'To them who seek for glory, and honour, and immortality, by patient continuance in well-doing, eternal life.'

"But I would remark, it is indeed to this end I have quoted from the ancient book, that in both passages the belief on which they rest is in force and essence the same—the conviction of perpetual justice in the rule of a righteous God. Without such faith in God there is no solid ground for reasoning that shall assure us of the life hereafter; and it is precisely those who do not believe in God that believe neither in the Immortal Hope. But they admit that benevolence and justice are not the predominant law of things in the life to which their theory confines the human race. James Mill, the father of John Stuart Mill, inferred from this fact that there could not be a good and just Creator of men. A pure and righteous and benevolent being, he thought, could never have formed men for such a life of suffering and moral evil. The inference was a rash one, but not without reason if the present is the whole of human life. He was arguing in a vicious circle; because the present life

offers no solution of its own mysteries to one who has no faith in God and in the life to come, for the two are inevitably connected, the one grows out of the other.

"Therefore it was that the heathen philosophers were not able to carry their thought of a future life beyond the region of speculation; it never became with them a practical stimulus and encouragement to right conduct. They wanted the Hebrew faith in the One good and righteous Ruler, holy and wise, whose faithful providence concerns itself with individual as well as general welfare.

"For the compensations of the present life are certainly not complete, at least as regards individuals; though the pious Hebrew mind, with its firm faith in a just and true God, was slow to admit the fact, until it learned to look beyond the limits of present being for the completed circle of the Divine administration. Earnest and devout men, as we see in the Old Testament, tried in various ways to solve the difficulty. Sometimes they seem to say that the virtuous are sufficiently rewarded in the approval of their own conscience—in the favouring light of the Divine countenance; and sometimes they were content to leave the matter in the hands of God, as a question beyond human penetration—a subject for submission to the sovereign Ruler, in humble but blind reliance that His ways at least should be justified. But there was always the lurking sense of something still wanting—a feeling that the Almighty would surely make

clear His equity and truth to the mind itself that trusted in Him. For even if they saw that a period of temporary suffering might prove of service to pious feeling, and so prepared themselves to say, 'Blessed is the man whom God correcteth,' still the question would recur, To what end is this Divine discipline?—a question difficult to answer if the trial lasted through life, and there was no life after it, in which the happy results of the trial could appear.

"There was, moreover, another aspect of the question, very trying to men whose system of religious law and obedience had accustomed them to regard peace and prosperity as the manifest tokens of Divine blessing. This was the frequently successful career of wickedness. Whatever consolations good men might have, in whatever way the many afflictions of the righteous could be accounted for, though it might be right, at least it could not appear natural; it was to be expected that the righteous should triumph under a rule of righteousness. For they could see that whilst the good have sorrows from which the bad are free, the more wicked men become the less do they feel even the suffering of remorse, unless some tide of adversity sweeps away the prosperity in which they trusted. Then they said that time must restore the equilibrium of justice. The triumph of evil could not be for ever, nor the beloved of God suffer under permanent wrong. And you know how often in the Psalms and elsewhere this is the simple explanation

resorted to, that the anomalies of Providential dealing subsist only for a time; that all shall come right in the end; that bad men are lifted up (you will find something of the same kind also in ancient heathen writings) in order that their subsequent fall may be more conspicuous; and that good men purified in the furnace of trouble come out at last to greater honour.

"For those who believed in a righteous God, and who thought it a part of pious duty 'to wait,' in the common Old Testament phrase, 'for His salvation,' this solution of the present inequalities in retribution and reward might well have appeared sufficient, if only experience had confirmed its truth. But experience did not, nor does it now, testify to any such fact as that the judgments of God receive in the world, whether as concerns the good or the bad, adequate expression. The cases are exceptional and not the rule in which the path of the good man shines out through darkness in perfect brilliancy at its close. Many a heroic, devoted, and pure life goes down in sudden eclipse. Many a noble career has been overclouded in pure self-sacrifice, that could not even explain itself to the honourable estimation of men. The grandest natures are not always those that come high into the world's esteem. They work for duty, or suffer in patient silence, with only the Father's eye upon them. And you are aware how hard it is to convince men from observation that there is a moral government at all—one at least that may be relied

upon. If we knew only of the present life, and nothing of God from our own nature to enable us better to interpret the facts of common experience, we too might count it mystery that men should have, deservedly, or equally without desert, to bear the whips and scorns of time—

> The oppressor's wrong, the proud man's contumely,
> The insolence of office, and the spurns
> That patient merit of the unworthy takes.

"But we know that the issues of divine government need larger scope than the limits of present being afford. It is a grand scale on which God works. One may see enough of the ways of God to understand the method of His rule—the principle that guides it—to teach us, as Matthew Arnold says, that there is a power above us that makes for righteousness; but we cannot help also seeing that for the present its work is incomplete.

"Shall we say then that there is no present kingdom of God?—that it is only to come hereafter in better times than our own?—that all the wrong and suffering of thousands of years must be simply ignored, must enter for no account in our estimate of the divine equity? It must be so if this life were all; and then the regret would be, that we should not positively know this, but are tormented with ideas of justice that shall never be accomplished, though they seem to be divinely implanted in our nature. For as to a moral rule, that only imperfectly controls the in-

dividual who rebels against it, and but insufficiently guides, and insufficiently protects the ready subject of its sway—who could willingly believe it to be the rule of this All-perfect, the All-good and righteous? The proper end of government is in the individual, not in the mass. Humanity is nothing, a mere abstraction of it does not mean, does not include, the separate persons whom in the mass we call mankind. I can understand no doctrine of divine rule and justice that could shut out the claims of any single human being. It might be a rule of sovereignty, of mere brute creative power and will, that should content itself with carrying forward, by processes of inexorable law, such as we perceive in constant action, mere ends of development, the weakest always suffering, as Mr. Darwin shows, and only the strong surviving, and without any concern for personal interests or feelings; but from the moment you induce moral elements into the question, it is completely altered. If you say that the Divine is a moral government, then the individual comes to the front; you are no longer treating of mere phenomena. You are considering persons, not things. The term has no other meaning. Moral rights, duties, feelings, claims, disapprobation, or approval—it is only because men are persons that such ideas are possible, expressive of their mutual relations, so far as these are moral relations. And if there be in the Almighty nothing to correspond with all this—for all moral relations must needs be mutual—

then is our whole life an illusion. We are but clay in the potter's hands, mere dead matter pretending to be alive, framed with power to deceive itself into that strange fancy.

"To say then that God is a moral being, and that His rule in the earth is a moral government, is to imply that to every moral creature, to every individual endowed with moral sentiment, He stands in the relations of holiness, justice, truth, goodness—relations that cannot be satisfied with the temporary issues of any single human life. And hence man's seeking for glory, honour, and incorruption, in the way of well-doing most pleasing to the Divine Will, to which the promises given of eternal life are but an appeal, made in the fittest manner of such appeal to that moral nature in the Most High that is man's only trust, that gives to the universe its sole intelligible meaning. But it is the *universal* trust, the claim of all moral natures, based on that uncreated law, the law of eternal right, which is the Divinest in the Divine, the first and last, the very all and essence of Him whose greatest glory it is to delight in love and righteousness.

"I admit that under present limitations man cannot recognise in all its force this close moral relationship between himself and his maker, though it is our religion to feel it; and our best means of religion are those which strengthen the sentiment, not only in obedience but in trust. Only in this way does the

final aim discover itself of God's education of His children. But we may see the greatness of the end in the very difficulties through which that end has been so often seen in the life and character of good and pious men, victoriously fulfilling it. For the ends of present being man is under what we call phenomenal law. He must die, for example, and give place to others. But see what death is to such a being —for we are not, we cannot even make ourselves, by utmost effort of degradation, to occupy the easy level of a brute insensibility, companions of the beasts that perish. Things do not come and go with us, they are remembered and foreseen. It is the demand of such a life that it be not so vainly and at the same time so painfully ended; or on the other hand, that we might be, we will not say mercifully, but wisely and reasonably spared the knowledge. This over-conscious intelligence compels the inference, while it creates the desire of continued life beyond the grave.

> 'Tis the Divinity that stirs within us,
> 'Tis Heaven itself that points out a hereafter,
> And intimates eternity to man!

"We know that for this world natural law must take its course, and that the risks of frequent painful experience are as unavoidable for us as for the rest of organized creation; but for man even these are contradictions to his inner sense of being—an oppression that would become intolerable, if he were not conscious also of certain moral defects, if he did not feel

himself to need some discipline of suffering, and if this hope of recovered harmony, of being in a better life were absolutely withdrawn from his nature. He knows that for the moment the laws must take their course; but when they shatter recklessly the sweetest and dearest elements of his being, he knows *that* also, and with the knowledge, sees that if this be truly the end, he is suffering a needless, an added, a wantonly inflicted pain. Inevitable pains there may be of change and accident; and so far as concerns this world we may perceive that what we call penalties of natural law are beneficent in their intention, life and health-preserving in their common effect; but why should man alone be tormented with so great susceptibility of fear, and the wearing and sad memory of a thousand things better forgotten? If the training of life concerns this life only, it is surely overdone; for as to things of importance, nay, as to almost everything of real interest to us, we are made to feel infinitely more than is required for the simple conduct of life. We must needs think it an extravagance, an error in the human constitution, that we should learn, for example, to live our life by the law of such deep affection, of affection that so long survives, and often so painfully, the objects that called it forth now taken from us by the mere but inevitable accident of death. Why should we not have been rather moved by unconscious instincts of self-exhausting passions, that virtually perish with their objects, instead of serving, like

memory and affection to perpetuate the parting grief?

"Thus might all the ends of temporary being have received sufficient accomplishment; but affection, man's noblest attribute, becomes his greatest source of pain; the special occasion of perpetuated sorrow, useless and vain, if those we loved are indeed gone from us for ever—a superfluous affliction, I say, one that answers no reasonable end. Better not love so deeply what we must so surely and so quickly lose. But truly the inexorable laws pay little heed to the higher feelings which a certain philosophy would teach that they create for needless torture. It is the glory of a man to care for the things of the spirit—for intellect and taste and the pursuit of goodness and the multiplication in life of high and noble and affectionate interests: yet these are precisely the things about which we are made most to suffer, and which at their highest and best, a certain doctrine of philosophy takes utterly from us. Why should we encourage these lofty ambitions, these pure affections that so become our torment? Were it not better to train up children in cold indifference, in the barrenness of feeling that shocks us whenever we encounter it, but which after all, on such a theory, would surely be the highest wisdom?

"And what is that progressive tendency, that desire of improvement, which characterizes the human race from the moment of its escape from primitive

barbarism, that zeal of refined and cultivated natures to become perfect, which is the true 'longing after immortality?' *We* only of all creatures do so aspire—we only feel so keenly the pangs of disappointment, and that holy discontent that looks eagerly for a life, not alone of better conditions, but also of a better nature. We want scope and means to right ourselves, to live a fuller and nobler life, more near to what we feel the true and highest ends of being. People have said that vice is its own punishment, and virtue should be its own reward, and in that saying is some element of truth; but the vice and the virtue scarcely exist of which this remark can be pronounced altogether true. There are on both sides counteracting influences. There are few perfect either way, and not many persons who would not feel thankful to live a renewed life, escaped from errors and folly, from defects and sin. And who should say that it is a selfish hope that looks for the reward of struggling virtue in the perfected life, above all fear of temptation, in the happiness of unbroken virtue, in the blessedness of Divine favour? If we value a gift because we love and esteem the giver, surely it is idle to pretend that any creature can be above receiving the rewards that are only looked for in the grace of a loving and holy God.

"Some have said that the desire and hope of another life, so widely cherished by men, may be explained quite naturally; that it is in fact the common love of

life transformed, that comes of the useful law of self-preservation, the wise law of all organized being. And to this it may be added, that such negative instinct may become positive wish, by act of reflection, for those who can appreciate the wonders of nature, the charm of healthy existence, and feel delight in a universe so glorious that they could not well bear to leave it. But I have not reasoned from such mere longing desire. I have reasoned only from the nature that cherishes such desire, and from God's faithfulness, its true inspirer. I know that the men who have felt it the most profoundly have been the best and wisest, and that we always feel it in the ratio of our own fulness and wealth of being. And so I understand it to be a divine promise, a covenant of the Father, the Lord of Righteousness, the object of all our trust, the foundation of all our hope, a covenant with every soul of man, made naturally, therefore, in most marked and clearest expressions through him in whom the divinest type of man was realized.

"It has been said with truth that 'Jesus was the first practical teacher of the immortality of the soul.' For it is one thing to conjecture, to wish, to hope for, to believe in immortality as a philosophical speculation; another thing to arrange all our plans and purposes, all our inward and outward life in accordance with it.

"He has connected this truth most intimately with the other practical truths of religion, and referred all the rest to this in such a manner as no teacher before

Him ever did. And while in Him we see that death is but the door, the way of entrance to a higher state of being, we are made to feel how in the spiritual life of His instruction, in His perfect trust, in His intimate knowledge of the holy and just, of the true and loving Father, may already be realized the sense of that higher and better state begun. For the life of Christian godliness is already here an earnest of the life that is to come. Have we not often witnessed it when those most dear to us have been taken away, as we beheld their patient continuance in well-doing, that the spirit of the higher life manifested itself beforehand in the corresponding 'patience of hope unto the end?' And amidst our suffering the glory of eternal life has come to us—come like the parting beam that prophesied of to-morrow's certain hope, giving to our religion a new and deeper interest, the interest of our best affections; to our sense of duty the stimulus of a new desire to follow them worthily in 'the high calling of God' in well-doing; and a more real and larger fulness of meaning to our own aspirations after the perfect life."

The congregation of Unity Church is a colony transplanted whole and entire from the chapel in Carter's Lane, and this latter had a history of its own, taking us back to the time when the term Presbyterian had a larger meaning than it now bears, being nearly equivalent to our term Unitarian. On the occasion

of the congregation passing from the old dingy chapel in Blackfriars to the church whose worship I have described above, Mr. Ierson preached a sermon which he designedly made a *resumé* of that history. He said:—

"This church has subsisted for now very nearly two hundred years. Six years from the present date (1861) will have completed the second century from that of its formation under one of the Two Thousand ejected clergy of the Restoration. On the 24th of August next year, the general body of English Dissenters will celebrate the bicentenary of that memorable event—the mournful triumph of the High Church reaction under the Chancellor Clarendon—the passing of the second Act of Uniformity, which reimposed upon the Church of England that heavy burden of subscription which in our own time so many of the better-informed among the clergy find it hard to bear. The Presbyterians in the Church had no wish to leave it; they were driven cruelly from it. In aiding as they had done the re-establishment of the monarchy in the person of Charles the Second, they had been led to hope for better treatment at his hands. They had in fact received from him a distinct promise that their scruples of conscience in regard to certain practices of the Church should be respected, if not by direct alteration of such usages, at least by a wise toleration of their own less rigid conformity to them. Certain of their chief ministers had indeed

been appointed among the royal chaplains, and a conference was held to debate upon the matters of which the Presbyterians complained. But the party at the time in power were resolved to accept no terms of compromise. They absolved the King from his promise by a not uncommon device of clerical casuistry, and then drove out from the Church as enemies the men who had only desired its reform. They probably did not believe that so large a number of the clergy would make the noble sacrifice which they did. But they were jealous of Presbyterian influence, and determined to suppress it. Adherence to the Genevan platform, as it was called, had widely extended amongst the English clergy from the early years of Elizabeth, and the system had struggled hard for above twenty years of her reign to establish itself within the Church. It was also within the vivid memory of the Churchmen of the Restoration, that the National Establishment had been for a short time Presbyterian. It is true that the Presbyterians did not now desire supremacy in the Church. As a party they had learned the lesson of adversity. They asked only for such reforms as might have led to their own continued comprehension in the ranks of the established clergy. But the spirit of faction prevailed, and the bigoted law drove them forth, to be followed everywhere by other yet more cruel enactments, which persecuted many of these honest and true men wherever they went, even to the mean extent

of forbidding them to teach for their bread. The violent proceedings were renewed against them which had been employed from about a century before, under Elizabeth, to put down the Puritan dissent which the obstinate retention of abuses within the Church had created. They were prevented in many places from meeting together for worship. In their most retired and humble meetings they were never secure from molestation, either by the authorities or from the rage of popular prejudice. The chapel in Blackfriars in which this congregation worshipped, was one of a considerable number of Dissenting meeting-houses that were assailed by the High-Church Sacheverell rioters of 1710. During all the years before the accession of William, as even at intervals thereafter, the public religious services of Nonconformists were carried on under the perpetual fear of arbitrary violent suppression. . . . .

"The founder of this congregation was Matthew Sylvester, a clergyman formerly of Lincolnshire, who is said to have settled in London in or about the year 1667. From Rutland House, their first place of worship, the congregation removed, soon after the Revolution, to another in Meeting-house Court, Blackfriars. In the former place, Mr. Sylvester had enjoyed the serviceable help of the celebrated Richard Baxter, and afterwards of Edward Calamy, another well-known Nonconformist, who was then in the commencement of his ministry. It was only a short time

before he became assistant to Mr. Sylvester, that Mr. Baxter had been released from his last imprisonment. He had been sentenced by the infamous Jefferies on account of certain passages in his comment on the New Testament, in which he was charged with sedition in having reflected, as was inferred, upon the prelates of the Church of England. The few last years of his life were spent in the service of this church, which after his death appears to have diminished rapidly in numbers. . . . .

"Such," says Mr. Ierson, "has been the history of a Nonconforming church. The principle was carried further by force of circumstances, and we are also a Nonsubscribing church. If we consider this point, we shall be led to observe the gradual development of religious thought amongst us, connecting our present convictions with those earlier formed by this congregation, under the genial shelter of a wise Christian liberty. . . .

"It would require something more of a historic disquisition than we can here attempt, to explain the varied influences that may have contributed to this early settlement of heterodoxy in the congregation of Sylvester and Wright, which entered indeed under the latter of these, its second minister, or founder, as we have considered him. The fact ought to be clearly understood, that this pulpit has never been committed, in any proper modern sense of the word, to orthodox Calvinism or Trinitarianism; and that the anti-Trini-

tarian conviction has been from the first at liberty of proclamation. Humanitarian, I suppose, the ministry of this church never was before the time of Mr. James Yates and Dr. Joseph Hutton; but it was essentially free; and Mr. Pickard, in the middle of the last century, though not himself approving what were called Socinian views, had for his assistant for six years the Mr. Tailer who was 'the intimate acquaintance,' it is said, 'and cordial friend of Dr. Priestley.'

"Without pretending to offer a history of the positive development of liberal opinion which has crowned the freedom of the English Presbyterians generally, we may remark that indications are not wanting of the fact that the Athanasian Trinity was early regarded by many of them with dislike. The whole subject was treated in some of their assemblies as a purely open question, even before the Parliamentary civil war. With regard to the congregations formed subsequently to the persecution of 1662, many circumstances may be supposed to have aided the gradual enlightenment of men from whom no subscription to creeds of human invention had taken away the power of new and clearer perceptions of divine truth. The Arian controversy in the Church, occasioned by the presumed heresies of William Whiston and Dr. Samuel Clarke, might perhaps be considered the most probable exciting cause of Presbyterian questioning upon such matters. This was followed by the Bangorian controversy, which brought to light a large amount of

what we should now called Broad Church principle among the Established clergy. Every movement of this nature in the National Church would be certain to excite interest in the minds of the English Presbyterians, who still looked with respect upon the Establishment from which they had been cast forth, and who perhaps had not yet abandoned the hope of some possible comprehension hereafter that might restore them to their former position. There are those amongst us who still entertain such hopes, destined still, probably, to disappointment. . . . .

"It may have been that the bold assaults of the Deistical writers—of Toland, Shaftesbury, Collins, and some time afterwards of Tindal—upon the Christian revelation, constrained the Presbyterian ministers to re-examine the foundations of divine truth, and taught them to perceive the importance of holding it by a law of rational conception, which would of necessity set aside innumerable orthodox indefensible traditions of interpretation and belief. They would perhaps see, for example, with us, that the only unanswerable portion of Bishop Butler's Analogy, written at the time, is that which represents Christianity to coincide with the eternal law of rectitude, which they had from the first made it the chief business of their preaching to proclaim. They would little sympathize with the violent dogmatic denunciations of Whitfield and the Wesleys and their numerous ignorant disciples, which began, we may observe, about

the time of the opening of this place of worship. Better in all probability than our fathers could, we are enabled to appreciate at their just value the public service which these men rendered in an era of social darkness and degradation, by their strong and incessant appeal to the conscience of the lower orders of society. Their extravagances would rather lead to a reaction in contemporary thoughtful minds, against forms of Evangelical dogma upon which they laid an intolerant and fanatic stress.

"But when, in 1766, appeared 'The Confessional' of Archbishop Blackburne, a protest against theological tests in the Church, which is known to have produced a powerful impression upon the public mind, and a petition was signed by two hundred and fifty of the clergy for relief from the bondage of doctrinal subscription, the body of English Presbyterians must have received strong confirmation of the value of their own liberal position. The theology of the Archdeacon appears, indeed, to have been in advance of that held at the time amongst them. This was in the latter period of Mr. Pickard's ministry, and it was only four years before his death that Mr. Theophilus Lindsey, one of the friends of Mr. Blackburne, resigned his living in the Church, and began, in a room in Essex Street, to preach as a Unitarian. Dr. Disney, a son-in-law of the Archdeacon's, withdrew from the Church at the same time. Then came Dr. Priestley and Mr. Belsham, and, we must add, the noble-hearted Dr. Channing,

and along with these and after them many other able and zealous men professing the Unitarian faith, whose influence has aided to give to the Presbyterian churches the character which they now bear. The original Socinian movement in Poland and Transylvania dates from the middle of the sixteenth century. With the existing Church of the latter country we have entered not long since into fraternal communication; but the rise of English Unitarianism owes nothing to any foreign force; it was indigenous, the natural result of free research into the true sense of the Divine Word. Our churches are now happily identified with all the new possibilities of Unitarian development which have been since displayed. Unfettered by exclusive and intolerant trust-deeds, or by any sinister law of subscriptions, we hope ever to continue in open-hearted readiness to receive the ever-renewed blessing of divine light in the interpretation of Christian truth. In this country few professed Arians remain, but neither is the low Humanitarianism upheld generally amongst us which may have been once contended for. The essential humanity of Jesus is seen to contain within its unaltered forms and finite characteristics the complete and unquestioned power of manifesting the transcendent moral perfection and loving purposes of the Infinite Father. Such is the doctrine which we carry with us from this place, with all its consoling kindred views of the filial relation of mankind to God, and all its fitness of harmony

with the clear indications of divine truth, whether discovered in the research of nature or in the providential course of the world's history. Above all, we take with us the freedom of religious thought which has ever distinguished the teaching of this place—a noble, Christian and apostolic inheritance; 'for, brethren, ye have been called unto liberty.' Only, let us not use our liberty as a temptation to unrestraint of whatever kind of evil, 'but by love serve one another.'"

On the whole, Mr. Ierson gave me the impression of firing over the heads of the average Islingtonians, which I took to be the secret of his small congregation; and I find that such is, in a measure, the estimate formed of him by some at least of his own persuasion—namely that he is, so to say, too big for the place. These are not the days of Calamy and Baxter, when men could take their heresy in good strong doses. We prefer our heterodoxy, like our medicine, administered homœopathically and with plenty of sweetening. There is a profound German style about the preaching of Mr. Ierson, which, whilst it suits well my present purpose as an admirable exponent of Unitarian ideas, we can quite imagine taking no great hold upon the plain substantial tradesmen, with their wives and families, or the trim servant girls who, as far as I could judge by appearances, mostly composed the congregation of Unity Church that Sunday morning in "merrie Islington."

HACKNEY PROPAGANDISM.

Ruthlessly pursuing my iconoclastic course, marked out by the ruins of ancient creeds and the removal of traditional landmarks, I found myself in due season at Heterodox Hackney—the most heretical, as far as my present experience goes, of the various quarters of the metropolis. No less than three "irregular" gatherings conspired to seduce me from the paths of orthodoxy on a single Sunday evening. The United Secularists' Propagandist Society, and the Hackney Secular Association, were to meet at Perseverance Hall, Goldsmith's Row, Hackney Road; and Mr. Cox was to enlighten the latter body on the subject of "The Heroes of the Bible:" while at the Minerva Club, Triangle, Hackney, Mr. Hyde was to devote his energies to a solution of the problem, "Would Professor Fawcett be a suitable Representative for Hackney?" I had heard Mr. Myles McSweeney resolve Christ into a Solar Myth, and Mr. Antill summarily condemn the Twelve Apostles as a Company of Cadgers. What remained for me but to have my last fragment of Biblical hero-worship shattered to atoms by the eloquence of Mr. Cox? I would go—

but then I felt anxious as to the answer of the Hackney Minerva *in re* Professor Fawcett. Despite my lengthened spiritualistic experiences, I have not yet mastered the secret of personal reduplication; so my only chance was to deputize at one of these gatherings, for they all came off at the same hour—all Heterodox gatherings, it seems to me, do. Sunday evening is the only chance you have got of catching Heterodoxy in full swing; so that it would take a slice out of a lifetime to do more than focus a few forms of Proteus. This fact, and a very imperfect system of advertisement on the part of our heretics, must be my excuse if I omit any "representative men." So it was that I set off with my *alter ego* for Moorgate Street, whence, I found, the tramway cars would set me down at the Hall of Perseverance and the shrine of the Hackney Athenë respectively.

Out of Goldsmith's Row, which is slummy, just past the almshouses, turns a court which is slummier still; and Perseverance Hall is slummiest of all. There is no outward sign or symbol of the Temple of Perseverance, and you have to grub your way into a most unlikely-looking doorway; but we went in. We would have gone into anything that stood open, for we had long been pacing Goldsmith's Row infructuously in the drizzle of a March evening. Nobody knew where Perseverance Hall was, but everybody told us; so no wonder we wandered. Chance, how-

ever, at last guided us; and as we pushed open the refractory little doors we found ourselves in a small lecture-hall, with the customary paraphernalia of platform and baized table at the farther end. An old gentleman, sitting with his hat on in the front seat, might have been the personification of Perseverance under its aspect of Punctuality; for he told us that there was a good hour to wait yet before the Biblical Heroes would come on for annihilation. He moreover burdened his conscience with the assertion that the Triangle, Hackney, was only five minutes' walk from Goldsmith's Row, so that we could reconnoitre our East-end Athenë, and get back in good time to the happy despatch of the Biblical Heroes. All I can say is, I should like to see that aged heretic do the distance in five minutes, or three times five. There was the most remarkable absence of topographical knowledge in Hackney that Sabbath evening. Tradesmen living within a stone's-throw of the Triangle could not, or would not, direct our pilgrim steps; and when we gained our trilateral destination, nobody appeared to have heard of the Minerva Club, though it was a big house, with the name painted in proportionate characters upon it, as we discovered when we got near enough to see it through the gloom of declining day. As for the Hackney loafers, we might have been asking them for a spot in the interior of Africa. They seemed not to have an idea beyond the fixed centre of their pipes and

the narrow circumference of the adjacent public-house.

They were singing a hymn on the first floor of the building where the devotees of Athenë gathered; but I rightly surmised this could have nothing to do with Professor Fawcett's candidature. These were some orthodox religionists, who took the precaution of turning the key upon me after they had told me the Minerva Club-meeting was downstairs. The room was empty, so I simply left my *alter ego* there, and returned to Goldsmith's Row. The aged party who had given me the five minutes' information was sitting quite in front, so that I could not see whether he wore seven-leagued boots or not. There was a little, apparently *extempore*, meeting going on below the platform, which I found was called for the purpose of deciding whether the United Secularists' Propagandist Society should amalgamate with the Hackney Secular Association or not. Mr. Standring, the secretary of the latter body, a youth of some seventeen years, but with the gravity and self-consciousness of a Socrates, was on his legs as I entered, and there was some little point of etiquette involved in the amalgamation question, which took a good deal of talking to settle; but the proposal was overruled at last. The societies were to remain distinct, but to work fraternally. Then there was a discussion as to the length of time which should be allowed to

"Christians" in debate. "Christian," I find, is a sort of generic term used by Secularists to signify all who differ from themselves, much as, before my present experiences, I might have loosely employed the word "Infidel." Certainly our Freethinking friends applied the name of Christian to many whose Christianity was very shaky indeed.

The room kept filling while these proceedings were going on; and, as I did not feel particularly interested in them, I had leisure to look about me. The first thing I noticed was that the room smelt. I suspect drains; but I know it was nasty—stuffy is, I believe, the correct expression. The people, too, seemed of a lower order than those with whom I had hitherto been brought into contact. There were a few tidy working-men; but with a good many of the gathering the close connexion of cleanliness with godliness had been so practically recognised, that they abjured the former with the latter.

By-and-by time was called; the youthful chairman assumed his place, looking as much like Nestor as he could, and the lecturer, an elderly, pleasant-faced man, stood on his left at the table. There were, I should think, about thirty men and one woman present when he commenced. The male audience was increased gradually during the lecture; but the female, who looked like a decent domestic servant, remained in her minority of one.

Mr. Cox opened by saying that the Bible was a book much misunderstood, not only by Christians but by Secularists; so much so that he had sometimes thought of opening a room where, for twopence a week, people might be instructed in the Bible only. Christians believed the Bible to be infallible; and, in illustration of this assertion, he told a very old story of the sailor who, returning from a voyage, scandalized his aged mother by telling her they had fallen in with flying fish, but found no difficulty in making her believe that they had dredged up one of Pharaoh's chariot wheels from the Red Sea, because the circumstance of his being drowned there was in the Bible. He also added, that either the same old lady or another of similar calibre, declared if the Bible had said Jonah swallowed the whale, instead of the whale swallowing Jonah, she would have believed it.

These flights of fancy at once put Mr. Cox on good terms with his audience; and he went on to say that his view of the Bible might very possibly differ from those of Secularists in general; but he claimed the right—and was applauded for doing so—of Free Thought to draw its own conclusions from premises. —"If any one can prove that I am wrong in what I say to-night, let him do so," he added, "and I shall go home a wiser man than I came."

The Bible, then, he took to be a grand old book, and a fine epic poem. If it were to be read as true, it would be "trumpery;" but the imagination that could

concoct the story of the Creation or the Deluge was far more powerful than that which had elaborated the stories of Baron Munchausen or Robinson Crusoe; because these authors had some facts to go upon, whereas the Bible authors had none. The object of this Epic poem was to give an account of the origin of man; and Mr. Cox found at the first two prominent heroes. These were (1) Jehovah, (2) Satan. The poem was probably written about the time of Solomon. As to Moses, there was no evidence of his authorship; and it was not usual for writers of books to insert accounts of their own death and character. "From Genesis to Kings," he said, "there was one language and one style in the Bible; and all knew how difficult it was to simulate another man's style, from the fact of no one having been able to continue the unfinished story of Charles Dickens. The book in English was a very free translation, with a good many interpolations in italics, which often entirely changed the sense." This was especially the case with the Book of Job. which he regarded as much more modern than the rest of the narrative. Some of the Psalms, too, as, for instance, the 137th, which, he said, though included in the Psalter of David (I am quoting, be it observed, Mr. Cox's statements without comment) plainly referred to post-captivity times. There was, then, clearly no dependence to be placed on the Book itself as to anything it said about when or by whom it was written.

Mr. Cox was greatly given to digressions, and here

expatiated on the rivers of Paradise, which were wrong in some way or other, and considerably exercised his mind; but I could not see how they were relevant to the subject of Biblical heroes: and he broke his shins so grievously over their Hebrew names that I omit the digression and pick him up as he got back again.

The Bible then was an epic poem, very much like Milton's "Paradise Lost," having, as that work had, Satan for its subsidiary hero, and a lot of other devils for inferior characters; still the writer had probably gone up a mountain and seen shells there like what he had previously observed on the sea-shore. That inspired the idea of the Deluge. It was purely a work of imagination.

"Some author" (it is necessary to note the ambiguity here), some author, Mr. Cox said, had denied that the Jews were ever a great nation,—ever, in fact, anything more than a lot of old-clothes' men. He thought it very likely that they had picked up a book in the East and adopted it. He did not say this was a true theory, but it was a possible one. If Moses had signed his name to the Pentateuch, or if there were any external or internal evidence of his authorship we might believe it; though, even so, it must be remembered that a thousand probabilities did not make one fact.

The Book was curious then, and as such should be kept in the British Museum; but the authorship was

quite unknown. But as to the characters contained in it—Were they such as we could admire? Of course we all mentally supplied the negative answer, and Mr. Cox went on to point out that the virtues inculcated were simply those of savage nations. He traced the growth of peoples clearly enough through the time of tillage and pastoral pursuits, with patriarchal customs, till a time when they came to have judges; and then, "worst of all, kings," (a remark which brought down the house). To hold up these heroes of an incipient civilization for imitation would be to induce a frightful state of society. There was not one Mr. Cox would recommend as a model for his fellow men.

Take Jehovah, he said, and then flew off into a long-winded digression about light. Jehovah was an attempt to represent God in a physical form. Adam and Moses saw Him. In fact, he was merely an exaggerated human character. Further on He became more mythical, acting on the mind by dreams and visions. He was, moreover, inconsistent. He made the world, and then was so disappointed at another being stepping unpolitely in to interfere with the happy pair, that He declared His seven days' work useless, and "repented." He destroyed it by a flood, but still failed to do any good. There was no improvement, for the few He kept alive turned out a thousand times worse than those who had preceded them. So, too, with regard to the Ten Command-

ments. God said in them, "Thou shalt not kill;" but God must have altered His mind since the time of Cain, for Cain was let off with a comparatively trifling punishment, which certainly was no sanction to the principle, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood by man shall his blood be shed." In the conquest of Canaan this "hero" told the Israelites to go and break every one of the Commandments, though Mr. Cox would not "pile up the agony" (*sic*) by enumerating the particulars of their conduct. The great hero Gibeon too—Mr. Cox meant Jephthah, but it was no matter—Gibeon's sacrifice of his daughter was an argument against God's omniscience.

Of Satan we heard little until Job's time; and with regard to Adam, who was a smaller hero, it was quite certain the poet who wrote the Genesis did not believe Adam was so happy and perfect as he made him out. He was simply a naked savage, living on uncooked vegetables, with no knives and forks to eat them with, or "rough towels to keep his body clean!"

This book, observed the lecturer in conclusion, had done more harm than any other that had ever existed. Why was it bolstered up by priests and tyrants? Why did George the Third want to put the Bible into every child's hands? Because it supported the aggrandisement of the priesthood. For the same reason now it was sought to force the Bible down the throat of every child in school. There was fair hope, however, that this would not be so. Secularism was

spreading. When he was a young man it would not have been safe for him to stand up and speak as he had spoken that evening.

At the conclusion of the lecture, the juvenile chairman invited discussion; and Mr. Jones, an exceedingly pompous gentleman who spoke through his nose, got up on the Christian side—that is, I fancy, merely the anti-Cox side. I have no idea to what denomination he belongs, and rather cling to the hope that he is *not*, technically speaking, a Christian. Mr. Jones reminded Mr. Cox that the Koran upheld the Bible Heroes, and that its miracles were Bible miracles. Abraham, Moses, Ishmael, Job, and even Christ, were among the Koran Heroes.

But Mr. Jones's strong point was history. He clung to Diodorus Siculus. In a fragment of that author, Moses was mentioned as a clever man and a great lawgiver. The Flood was alluded to both by Diodorus and Strabo. Ovid—Mr. Jones lengthened the penultimate with several double O's—Ovid quoted Genesis in all but the names. Several other Greeks and "Latins" did the same. Longinus spoke of Moses as a great lawgiver too. "My friend Cox," said Mr. Jones, in a peculiarly harsh brassy voice, "is not ignorant of this; but he is not honest. He knows who the *man* is that he quoted as saying the Jews were never a great nation—were nothing but old clothes-men. It was Voltaire; and Voltaire told lies." (The youthful chairman tried to over-rule this observation;

but Jones was firm, and the meeting supported him; so the immature president was abashed, and gave way). Voltaire paid a high tribute to Sale, the translator of the Koran; but said that he himself had been for twenty-five years among the Arabs, which he never had. Still Mr. Jones built everything on Diodorus and Strabo, and raved himself hoarse on their testimony. He had them all in his pocket, and would have produced them, only his time was up.

Mr. Cox in reply, said there were no relics of the Jewish nation—no coins for instance, no ruins of their Temple. They had never been a great nation, he repeated; "and as for Moses he was a conjuror, a murderer, and a liar." The climax made the audience laugh; and I felt it was a worthy sequel to Messrs. McSweeney and Antill.

I felt I had had enough, and rose to go; for the odour of the room was telling on me. There certainly were stables or drains near. I lingered awhile near the door where the air was fresher, and found Mr. Jones had taken a Bohn's translation of Diodorus Siculus from his pocket and was reading an extract. He did the same with Longinus; but I could bear no more, and went to seek my *alter ego* at the shrine of Minerva.

It was so late, and he had not come to me, that I thought he must have got crowded in. I knew what these electioneering meetings were. The orthodox people had gone from the first floor; but I

heard the sound of a voice in the small apartment on the basement where I had left my *alter ego.* I opened the door, and beheld him one of eight seated round a table meekly listening to a free and independent Hackney elector who was spouting on the merits of Professor Fawcett. Poor fellow! he seemed glad to see me; rushed to the door, linked his arm in mine and bore me to the tramway, and not until we were fairly off did he fervently thank Providence that it was over. I wanted particulars of the Minerva Club, and asked him if he had got any. He had asked the secretary, who vaguely enough informed him that it was exactly like the Eleusis Club at Chelsea. As I had for some time been vainly seeking to probe the Eleusinian mysteries, that did not afford me much information. In fact it reminded me of the answer recorded in the Oxford "Art of Pluck" by an Undergrad., who, being asked of what material the walls of Babylon were built, replied that the substance of the top differed not from the substance of the bottom, and the material of the exterior and of the interior were likewise identical.

SECULARISM AND SECULARISM.

THERE is a "vanishing point," so to say, in my present subject, where all of what is generally comprised under the term "religious" ideas disappears; we are at once in a new world—a world, I fancy, as little understood by the regular Christian, who goes to Church every Sunday, and accepts the dicta of his parish priest for absolute truth, as would be some distant orb of the solar system, should he suddenly find himself transported to it. Into this unfamiliar sphere it was necessary for me to make a plunge; but how? I had had a somewhat lengthened experience in interviewing the representative men of London—Orthodox and Unorthodox; and if I might venture to generalise my experiences, I should say they were usually accessible in proportion to their orthodoxy. In the ratio of their general acceptance there was, of course, the less reason for their doctrines or practices being concealed. I had probed, at the time of which I write, even the depths of Unitarianism and Theism, which I had once, in my ignorance, deemed abysmal, and grouped heterogeneously enough under the common name of Infidelity. But, to him who descends into the depths, deep after deep opens when

he fancies he has reached the bottom, just as peak after peak awaits the feet of one who would scale the summit of the mountain. Between Theism and Secularism the line is sharp and well-defined. There was another mistake, too, which I made in my age of innocence: I thought that if men differed in their affirmations of religious truths, they must at least be at one in their negations. I had been amazed at the *imperia in imperiis* which I found among the graduated creeds of Christendom, but I was not prepared to find the same fact obtain in the denials of that system. I was quite wrong; and if no other result followed from my present task than the stern warning not to dogmatize about what I do not understand, I should feel that individually I had gained much, and possibly might not have failed to communicate some profitable hints to my readers on the subject of that logical fallacy known as *ignoratio elenchi*, more popularly termed "begging the question." Instead of injuring the cause we misrepresent, we do infinite harm to the one we defend by speaking of our opponents before we have mastered their position.

Happily for me I have no opponents. I neither oppose nor defend; I simply describe; but I feel how lamentably ignorant I was of these matters before I made the examination of them a matter of business and personal observation. I used words to which I attached no definite meaning; and notably so in my use of that single word Secularism. I had no idea

that it admitted of any ramifications, whereas I find, on closer study, that Secularists are divided into two schools of thought, as diametrically opposed to one another as Romanism and Protestantism, or as that other schism which had so taken me by surprise, and which splits Judaism itself into the Orthodox and Reformed persuasions.

After some hesitation, then, and by no means with one consent, I found the representatives of the different branches of Secularism ready enough to give me information. Some of them, I know, fancied I was going to interview them and put them into a tract; and one of the most eminent, after responding to my first advances suddenly collapsed, and withdrew into his shell like a snail whose horns had been touched. I have no notion why, for though I differed *toto cœlo* from that gentleman on matters of religion, I thoroughly appreciated his courtesy, while it lasted, and am only sorry he fancied that he had reason for subsequently withholding information. I sought to beard the lion in his den, and he characteristically informed me that he was no lion; at best he was only a bear.

However, I did interview one communicative gentleman who occupied a position in the world of Free Thought, which enabled him fully to unveil that particular hemisphere which I wanted to "prospect." I will not, of course, so far violate confidence as to give the slightest clue to that gentleman's individuality,

though I must still say that, from the Secularists' position, I cannot see any reason for the excessive, almost morbid objection I find among some of them to have their portraits drawn or their opinions ventilated.

The strong line of demarcation, then, between the two schools of Secularism lies at this fundamental question—"Does Secularism imply Atheism?" To this question Mr. Bradlaugh answers "Yes;" Mr. Holyoake "No." Mr. G. J. Holyoake be it remembered is himself an Atheist as well as Mr. Bradlaugh, but he differs from him on the necessary connexion of Atheism with Secularism. How thoroughly fundamental a principle this forms is daily proved by the fact that while many persons are quite prepared to accept the Secularist position and to blend with it any amount of scepticism, they shrink from the ultimate, and as it seems to them, dogmatic position of Antitheism.

Nothing can be plainer than the words of Mr. Austin Holyoake (brother of the above) as to his own convictions on this subject; and it is perhaps impossible for any one from the Theistic or Christian point of view to grasp the bearings of this question sufficiently to pronounce an opinion upon it. One's own proclivities are necessarily on the side of those who dissociate Secularism from Atheism. Mr. Austin Holyoake has just, as I write these pages, passed away, after a long and painful illness, to make the

"grand experiment;" and I should be unjust if I did not put on record the extreme courtesy with which, at a time when weighed down by that disease which has now terminated fatally, he wrote me a letter at some length on the interesting subject to which I refer. The following are some of his published words on the matter, from which it will be seen that his own convictions were quite clear, and which read doubly solemn and interesting, coming as they now seem to do from beyond the tomb:—

"Atheism is not a system. It has no set of principles. In a sense it is a negation, but it is also an affirmation. An Atheist, if I rightly understand the term, is one who gives no credence to supernatural theories; who rejects all forms and phases of Deism, Theism, and Trinitarianism, as each implies a belief in the existence of a Personal God or Gods. To the Atheist, anthropomorphism is an absurdity. A veritable 'God of the Universe' must be a something outside of, distinct from, and superior to *everything*. The Atheist has no conception of such an existence, and he denies that any human being has ever placed upon record any rational idea of it, or can now express one. He does not exclaim, 'There is no God;' he simply says, that he does not believe in the reality of any God yet manufactured by the religionists of the world. 'All reflective Atheism is suspensive,' remarks G. H. Lewes. And it is but rational to refrain

from dogmatizing on a problem purely speculative, the solution of which every age has yearned for in vain.

"To turn to the affirmative aspect of the question, 'Atheism, properly understood, is in nowise a cold, barren negative; it is, on the contrary, a hearty fruitful affirmation of all truth, and involves the positive assertion and action of highest humanity.' The mind once freed from superstition, is open to the reception of any truth, however new or startling it may be. The Atheist is not necessarily vicious because he rejects the notion of a revengeful Deity. He finds sufficient incentives to right conduct apart from the Bible or any other so-called sacred book. He knows that a violation of the laws of existence will entail 'punishment,' whether committed wilfully or in ignorance; hence he endeavours to understand those laws that he may live in accordance with them. He seeks to promote the welfare of his fellow creatures, knowing that from the happiness of others springs his highest gratification."

The living representative of the dissociation between Atheism and Secularism is the above-named Mr. George Jacob Holyoake, the writer of the article on Secularism in "Chambers's Encyclopædia," which I purpose to abridge in this chapter, in order to clear the ground for further examination of this most interesting problem.

With Mr. Bradlaugh, I understood my Secularist

friend to say, in the course of our modest coffee-house dinner, stood Mr. Charles Watts and Mrs. Law. Mr. Foote, a young and prominent member of the Secular ranks, I shall allow to speak for himself, by quoting a portion of his "Secularism and its Misrepresentatives," a pamphlet forwarded to me from the Hackney Propaganda:—

"This tract," he says, "purposes to deal with maliciously unveracious exhibitions of Secularism, as also with some misrepresentations of it which result from no ill motives; and if, in the course of this, polemic language should be used which would ill comport with the gravity of expression proper to a formal presentation of principles, the writer begs his readers to consider the nature of the task which he has to perform, and to make fitting allowance. He promises never to transgress the bounds of an allowable freedom.

"Before any reader can judge whether the misrepresentations which I undertake to expose are really what I maintain them to be, it is necessary that he clearly comprehend what Secularism is; and therefore I shall now proceed to give a brief yet comprehensive exposition of it. . . . .

"Secularism is founded upon the distinction between the things of Time and the things of Eternity. The interests and the actualities of the life that now *is* are common to all men alike; and by a due observance of

them we may learn to guide our conduct according to principles of virtue. The concerns and possibilities of the life that is to come, if such there be, are variously estimated by different schools of theology, and the most diametrically opposite doctrines respecting the unveiled future are dogmatically taught as infallibly true by the doctors of diverse religions and sects. That such conflicting beliefs can all be true is a logical impossibility, yet each claims to be deduced from the revelation of God, either external or internal, in direct written language, or in the soul of man. Thinking people cannot but suspect that while these discrepant theologies must contain some error, they may possibly contain no truth; and that these discordant teachings, all professing to be revelations of Deity, furnish proof that no voice has ever reached humanity from those mysterious regions whence no traveller returns, that the abysmal gulf of death forms an impassable barrier to the curiosity of man. Whilst we must die before we can ascertain the truth of any belief about the secrets of the future, we can test by actual experience our beliefs about the present. Of things of eternity the most that we can learn are the vague conjectures of imaginative men; of the things of time we can gain certain knowledge. When we trust ourselves to theological teachings we constantly tread in dubious paths, in danger of our fondest hopes being rudely shattered; but when we trust to reason as applied to

secular or worldly interests we stand upon firm ground, unfearful of any such disaster; for we then are guided by positive principles, which have been demonstrated by the universal experience of mankind, and which can never prove unworthy of reliance unless human nature suffer a radical change. Secularism, then, is a substitute for Theology, and gives principles of conduct to those who find Theology indefinite, unsatisfactory, and untrustworthy. Secularism bases itself upon the facts of the present life, and provides a moral code for those who accept it, independently of all extra-worldly considerations. It appeals to man's reason and imagination to exercise themselves upon practical problems which can be solved *here* and *now*, and upon the solution of which depends the happiness of men. It affirms utility, understood in its widest significance, to be the fundamental principle of action, leaving more transcendental principles to those who give prominence to speculative enigmas. 'The good of others' Secularism declares to be the law of morality; and although certain theologies secondarily teach the same doctrine, yet they differ from Secularism in founding it upon the supposed will of God, thus admitting the possibility of its being set aside in obedience to some other equally or more imperative divine injunction. A Secularist does not necessarily deny the doctrine of a life beyond the grave. He may entertain any opinion he pleases about the probability of a future

existence; but he must not permit his conduct during this life to be influenced by any other worldly considerations. He must act justly here, because humanly it is his duty to do so, and take his chance of obtaining possible enjoyments hereafter. If there be a heaven where virtue will be rewarded, he is, by acting virtuously here, insuring the future favours of Deity; and if the celestial economy should be so different from the terrestrial as to reverse our notions of right and wrong, he must wait until he can become duly initiated into the mysterious dispensation. If there be any possibility of entering heaven erect upon two legs, the Secularist is fully entitled to use all legitimate means of effecting a decent entrance therein. As to the existence or non-existence of a God the Secularist is also unfettered in his speculations. Certainly no one would be so presumptuous as to DENY the existence of a supreme ruling intelligence in the universe: that would involve the arrogance of infinite knowledge. The great majority of Secularists, it is true, are not believers in the existence of a personal God. They feel the mystery of the universe to be too profound for their minds to fathom, and humbly bow their heads before it in conscious impotence and wonder; an attitude which evinces far greater reverence than is manifested by the presumptuous dogmatism of theologians. Marcus Aurelius beautifully says, 'Do not act as if thou wert going to live ten thousand years: Death hangs over

thee. While thou livest, *while it is in thy power* be good.' This exhortation contains the pith of Secularism. A true soul will act while it is day, for the night cometh when no man can work. He will be self-centred and firm amidst the endless transformations of circumstance around him, and carve to the grave one pathway all his own, communing with the actual earth's equalities, and seeking not 'strength from strengthless dreams.'

> Man is his own star, and the soul that can
> Render an honest and a perfect man
> Commands all light, all influence, all fate;
> Nothing to him falls early or too late.
> Our acts our angels are, or good or ill,
> Our fatal shadows that walk by us still.
>
> BEAUMONT AND FLETCHER.

"A Secularist will waste no effort to avert the inevitable; he will strive to discern the laws of physical, moral, and intellectual health, and to act in consonance therewith. Neither will he dissipate valuable energy in making useless supplications to Deity for special interposition on his behalf. Feeling convinced that nature is 'lap't in universal law' he will refuse to resort to any such futile insanity. General laws are inexorably regardless of prayer or praise, and the secularist will therefore strenuously endeavour to ameliorate the condition of mankind by material and available means; and he will seek to alleviate the asperities of life by the benign influence

of love—the element of human goodness which has yet to assert its supreme sway:—

> For nature cannot hear us moan;
> She smiles in sunshine, raves in rain.
> The music born of love alone
> Can ease the world's immortal pain.
>
> ALEX. SMITH.

"This exposition of Secularism, however imperfect, will enable the reader to judge fairly the statements and arguments which follow. To his candour and intelligence, then, the ultimate adjudication is left.

Issued by
THE UNITED SECULARISTS' PROPAGANDIST SOCIETY,
142, OLD STREET, E.C.

"G. W. FOOTE.

"A. W. FROW, *Hon. Sec.*"

We must all agree as to the extreme importance of clearly discriminating between Secularism and Atheism, if there be, as Mr. G. J. Holyoake says, no real connexion between the two, and it is interesting to notice that, in the year 1870, those two gentlemen —whom we might name, the typical Pharisee and Sadducee of the Secular ranks—Messrs. G. J. Holyoake and Bradlaugh, had a two nights' discussion of the question at the Hall of Science, Mr. Austin Holyoake presiding. The examination of the rival theories was therefore pretty nearly exhaustive; and though it is beyond my province to pronounce on their respective merits, it is to the point to observe, as I have done already, that in the way of making

proselytes to Secularism from those who have been trained in theistic schools, there is infinitely more chance of success in Mr. Holyoake's purely utilitarian views than in the distinctively theological method symbolized by the "besom" of Mr. Bradlaugh's Atheism. Whether Professor Newman be right or wrong in saying that the term "Atheist" has come down to us from the Greeks connoted with a certain amount of opprobrium, it is quite certain that immorality does appertain to the title in the minds of nine out of ten dispassionate people. This may be a mere prejudice, of course; but I am looking at the matter for the moment from the Secularists' point of view, and especially as affecting that propagandism which is now so actively entered upon. I fancy I know something of the state of popular feeling on this subject; more perhaps among the middle than quite the lower classes (though something of these latter too), and I am quite sure that while many would be attracted to Secularist principles in their utilitarian phase, they would be at once and probably for ever deterred if the simultaneous profession of Atheism were proved to be a *sine quâ non.*

I make no apology, then, for quoting somewhat largely from this most interesting pamphlet. I cannot, of course, pretend to give anything like a complete view of the discussion; and if I select passage from the speeches of Mr. G. J Holyoake in preference to those of Mr. Bradlaugh, it is for the threefold reason

that (1) the purely utilitarian view of Secularism is less familiarly known than the theological; (2) that Mr. Bradlaugh's views await further treatment in my next volume; and (3) that it appears to me, from my own point of sight, only fair to remove what would certainly be considered by most persons a stigma from a system from which one of its professors claims to have it exempted.

Mr. Holyoake's preface to the published account of the discussion thus characteristically summarizes the point at issue:—

"Mr. Bradlaugh and myself appear—though the public would not expect it—each to have prelatical affinities. He takes the view of Dr. Magee, the Bishop of Peterboro', who holds that the Secular is Atheistic. I hold the opinion of Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's, that the Secular is not even irreligious.

"Discussion does one of two things—it produces concurrence of opinion, or it defines and fixes distinctions of opinion, so that the hearers can take warning or make choice. This debate will surely promote one of these ends. My object has been to make as clear as four brief speeches might, that Atheism like Theism, having for its subject of speculation the unknowable and untraceable, must be distinct from, and can never be made the basis of a Secular philosophy of life, which is limited by time and regulated by human experience. If Secularism

must be based on Atheism—what better helpers of humanity are we than the priests? They have to wait until they have convinced an inquirer of Theism before they can give him a foundation for moral duty; and the Atheistic Secularist has to wait in like manner until he has furnished to the human mind a satisfactory map of the untraceable path to nothing. Mr. Bradlaugh cannot say that he is prepared to inculcate duty apart from Atheism, that would be to admit that the grounds of Secular duty are distinct from Atheism—which is what I contend for. What I maintain is the logical existence of a Utilitarian Secularism."

Mr. Bradlaugh opens with an illustration:—

"Instead of saying, 'Theology will first engage the attention,' Mr. Holyoake says, 'Ignore theology.' If a disciple of old Izaak Walton, in pursuit of the amusement derived from the practice of the gentle art, comes in his wanderings upon a preserved stream, can he ignore the proprietor and his gamekeepers? Not a bit of it; he must either boldly dispute the private right claimed by the proprietor, or he must ignore the enjoyment to be found in that stream, and the pursuit of its finny denizens. If Mr. Holyoake, without license or permission, takes a gun and pops at Lord Fitzwilliam's pheasants or partridges, can he do so, and yet ignore the landowner, the watchers, the keepers, the police, the magistrate, and the jail? No; to get his free shooting he must vigorously attack the game laws, and the land monopoly.

"The clergy of the Christian churches claim the sole right in this country of preserving the human mind, with which they claim the sole privilege of sporting, and they regard each new thinker as an unlicensed poacher on their preserves. You cannot ignore them or their claim; you must do battle with the priesthood until their power is destroyed. They seek to entirely monopolize the right of directing human thought, and of creating habit-faith; you cannot avoid them or their influence; you must confront it, and contest its supremacy."

And in introducing the disputants, Mr. Austin Holyoake thus impartially states the basis of the discussion:—

"The proceedings to-night will be of a somewhat unusual character. The disputants, as you are aware, are not exactly opponents; they are both Freethinkers of the extremest school. But I believe there is a confirmed difference of opinion in what may possibly be termed a matter of policy in advocacy. Since 1852, or the early part of 1853, when the word Secularism was first adopted as a general term for Free-thought, there has been some difference of opinion amongst Freethinkers generally as to the full scope of its meaning. Matters have been disputed several times during the years that have elapsed, and it is intended by this debate to-night and to-morrow night, if possible, to settle once and for ever those differences. Mr. Holyoake represents what may be called one school

of Freethinkers, Mr Bradlaugh represents another. Now, the two propositions which will have to be discussed, one to-night and one to-morrow night, are as follows:—'The principles of Secularism do not include Atheism,' that is the proposition for this evening. To-morrow night we shall have to consider the second proposition—'Secular Criticism does not involve Scepticism.' Mr. Holyoake maintains the affirmative of those two propositions."

"Secularism," says Mr. G. J. Holyoake, "keeps its own ground by studying the means which nature places at the disposal of man. It commands resources of self-help—in a Utilitarian rule of morals it finds guidance. It establishes personal desert by service and veracity. In all these principles there is perfect independence of Atheism. If you desire a brief summary, which may be given in a few words, of what the principles to which I have adverted point to, so far as meets the object of this discussion, I would state them thus:—1, Secularism maintains the sufficiency of Secular reason for guidance in human duties. 2, The adequacy of the Utilitarian rule which makes the good of others the law of duty. 3, That the duty nearest at hand and most reliable in results, is the use of material means, tempered by human sympathy, for the attainment of social improvement. 4, The sinlessness of well-informed sincerity. 5, That the sign and condition of such sincerity are—Free-thought—expository speech—the

practice of personal conviction within the limits of neither outraging nor harming others."

And again, in the second evening's debate:—

"The principles of Secularism which I maintain are definable quite apart from the Bible, quite apart from Atheism, are not the imaginary, or incoherent, or capricious selection from a variety of principles resting merely or only on my authority, they were principles which we had acquired by the slow accretion of controversy, by contesting for them from platform to platform all over the country; and when they were drawn up, I submitted them in the aggregate form, many years after they had been separately formulated, to Mr. J. S. Mill, and asked him whether or not, in his judgment, we had made such a statement of Secular principles as were worthy to stand as self-defensive principles of the working-class, as an independent mode of opinion which should no longer involve them in the necessity of taking on their shoulders the responsibility of an Atheistic or Infidel propagandism, except when it suited the purpose of a member to do it. He admitted it in terms which it was a reward to read. It was not until we had the sanction of one so competent to judge, that these principles were promulgated in a definite manner as the principles of a party. The reason they were drawn up in the form ultimately submitted to the public was this, we found in a memorable address by Sir James Stephens, at Cambridge, it was represented that Mr. Grote,

Mr. Mill, and other eminent philosophers whom he named, had been so outraged by the offensive observations of the clergy, by their charging every man of science with infidelity, scepticism, or Atheism, that they refused any longer to take notice of Christianity; they had withdrawn from it, they stood apart from it, they constructed a system of their own, they had a philosophy of their own, they had principles whereby they regulated their own line of conduct; and when the minister spoke, they no longer felt called upon to regard him—they could deny his authority to give an opinion on their proceedings. The clergyman applies to them, but they make no response; he preaches his doctrine, but they condescend to no criticism. The result is, the clergyman, when too late, has to exclaim, 'The philosophers pass us by, they ignore Christianity, and in the end we shall have to become suppliants for their attention, because we repelled them when they were suppliants for ours.' (Loud cheers.) Now it struck me, that was a far prouder and more triumphant thing to accomplish than any wild warring against theologians; we were at the mercy of their overwhelming power. My purpose was to put into the hands of the working-classes principles which should serve their purpose in the same way, and make them equally independent and equally proud, defiant, and unassailable. They should be masters of their own principles, and have a system which should satisfy the requirements

of their mind—all the conditions of morality, and all the conditions of good government. To this end we took that material principle which related to the indefinite improvement of humanity by the improvement of material means. Though the orthodox might trust in God, we should have a power to appeal to science—that available providence of man, which never deserted or failed any one who knew wisely how to use it. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Mill furnished for us that marvellous statement of Utilitarian philosophy, in which he presented to us the Utilitarian view so stated, that it was impossible ever after to misunderstand it, or to misconceive it, or to libel it. So that when we seek to know the measure of a good action we know the rule whereby it may be tested; we know if we consult the good of others with whatever information we possess (having, as I stated last night, a well-informed sincerity) the application of this rule is the utmost good we can do. An ignorant man with his good intentions may go as often wrong as he may go right; if he takes the Utilitarian view, faith will not serve him, nothing but knowledge will serve his purpose; and he is impelled to acquire more and more knowledge, that he may invariably command the truest moral conduct. These rules were laid down quite apart from Atheism."

And he thus concludes, in words the last of which seem like a sad and solemn reverberation of that

"Nemesis of Faith" which commenced the present volume:—

"In an article I wrote some two or three years ago for 'Chambers's Encyclopædia,' I made a statement from which I will therefore read you one passage, and also one passage from the history of the 'Last Trial for Atheism,' which was written more than twenty years ago. Then you will see what I have been saying to-night is no new thing, but I have always or long, said the same thing. All over the country, numerous persons who are the very strength of the respectability and force of the adherents to the Secular system—many whose names are on the records of the National Secular Society, aiding to the utmost of their power, doing as I counselled them, doing the best works they can in the best way they can, as far as they are able—these persons to whom I refer share the opinions I am going to quote. I ought to say in citing this passage, Messrs. Chambers said to me, 'We apply to persons responsible for any new form of opinion in this country to give an account of it, because we prefer a statement from persons responsible for the opinions in question, instead of one from opponents who may caricature them.' This was fair and honest on their part. (Cheers.) My statement was this:—'Secularism is not an argument against Christianity, it is one independent of it. It does not question the pretensions of Christianity, it advances others. Secularism does not say there is no light or guidance

elsewhere, but maintains that there is light and guidance in Secular truth whose conditions and sanctions exist independently, act independently, and act for ever. Secular knowledge is manifestly that kind of knowledge which is founded in this life, which relates to the conduct of this life, conduces to the welfare of this life, and is capable of being tested by the experience of this life. Geometry, algebra, botany, chemistry, navigation, political economy, ethics, are Secular subjects of instruction, distinct albeit from Secularism, which includes the education of the conscience. They are founded on nature, they relate to the uses of this life, promote the enjoyment of this life, and can be tested by personal experience. That which is Secular can be tested in time; that which is Theological is only proveable after death. If a sum in arithmetic is wrong, it can be proved by a new way of working it; if a medical recipe is wrong, the effect is discoverable on the health; if a political law is wrong, it is sooner or later apparent in the disaster it brings with it; if a theorem in navigation is erroneous, delay or shipwreck warns the mariner of the mistake; if an insane moralist teaches that adherence to the truth is wrong, men can try the effects of lying, when the disgrace and distrust which ensue soon convince them of the fallacy; but if a theological belief is wrong we must die to find it out.' (Hear, hear.) Now the last passage, which is perfectly relevant to the subject, seems as if I had written it for

this very discussion, but it was first published some twenty years ago. It concludes the history of the 'Last Trial for Atheism.' I state here—'The priest breaks in upon the integrity of life and diverts its course. He says he makes an addition to our knowledge, we do not find it so. He professes to show us the hidden mysteries of the future, we fail to see them. He simply encumbers us, and we pray him to stand aside. The responsibility of our course is our own, and not his, and we have a right to be left free. Rejecting his advice, he proclaims that we reject truth, honour, justice, love. This is his error, or the retaliation of his disappointment. We appeal to the candid and to the impartial to judge between us. We respect Theology as the science of man's destiny, and regret that it bears no fruit for us; but this is not our fault, and we therefore attempt to solve the problem of life for ourselves.'"

END OF VOL. I.

HETERODOX LONDON:

OR,

PHASES OF FREE THOUGHT IN THE METROPOLIS.

BY

REV. CHARLES MAURICE DAVIES, D.D.

AUTHOR OF "ORTHODOX" AND "UNORTHODOX LONDON," ETC.

"PROVE ALL THINGS: HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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1874.

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INTRODUCTION.

The great advantage which I expect individually to gain by this examination of outlying forms of belief is the confirmation or modification of my own previous convictions. Once admit the function of Private Judgment, and it is quite impossible to hold a creed on such tenure without freest comparison thereof with other claimants on one's belief. Without further reference to my own convictions, which it would be irrelevant and therefore impertinent to thrust on my readers, except in so far as may be necessary to the elucidation of my subject, I proceed nevertheless to quote some passages from a sermon I preached in the church where I was curate (St. George's, Campden Hill, Kensington) just before I commenced the inquiries which resulted in the present volumes. I do this, not at all by way of self-glorification, but, on the contrary, to show how idle it is to dogmatize on these matters without proper data; and how completely the clerical life cuts one off from the accumulation of such data. I spoke the words (pp. x. xi. *below*)

in all honesty then; but I am convinced that they are now ruinously wrong. The processes by which such conviction has been forced in upon my mind have been glanced at *passim*, but are more particularly adverted to at pp. 128, 391.

I feel certain that, as an institution based on the exercise of Free Judgment and an open Bible, the Church of England must stand on the defensive, and have a Christian Evidence Society in something more than name, officered with her very best men, if she is to hold her own against the advancing tide of Free-thought—as it is specifically termed.

I find that I have, then, in the following words, depreciated—as I fancy most of the clergy do—the magnitude of the task before them, and especially the method of argumentation which I now see must be used for its accomplishment. The sermon was nearly the last I preached before relinquishing my curacy:—

The Duty of Faith towards Unbelief.

"*Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.*"—St. John xx. 29.

Some short time ago, when I was preaching on another subject, I set aside this one for subsequent inquiry—the attitude of Faith towards Unbelief. How ought Christians to comport themselves to such persons as openly avow unbelief in the doctrines of

Christianity, or even the existence and providential superintendence of God?

It becomes necessary for me to redeem my promise of treating this subject to-night if at all.

The question presents itself to us at every step, is utterly different from that which regulates our conduct towards nominal Christians.

There we can come forward with a strong point in our favour. We can say, "You are inconsistent; you profess to believe in God, yet in works you deny Him." That is the staple subject of nine-tenths of our sermons. We exhort our hearers to walk worthy of their vocation, to discharge vows voluntarily assumed, to be true to their colours as good soldiers of Christ.

But these people *are* consistent. Their self-chosen ground is logic. They say I do not believe in God. Either I am a reluctant doubter, or I dogmatically deny His existence; or, again, granting God as a necessary first cause, I deny His superintending providence, or the Revelation of Himself by Jesus Christ.

They *could*, of course, consistently go on and question the Bible's code of morals; but, in fairness be it said, they do not generally do this. No; they arrive (so they say) at the same end by a different road. Reason dictates to them what Faith prescribes to the believer. Worship and Prayer are, of necessity, meaningless to them; but morality—such moral duties as honesty, sobriety, temperance,

chastity are rigidly observed and forcibly inculcated.

If they were wicked profligate people, as the unbelievers of another age *were*, the case would be easier. We could say look at the results of your doctrines. But they are not. They are decent respectable people, in no way distinguishable from Christians as far as practice goes; and the question becomes a very difficult one indeed as to what should be the course adopted by a person who, firmly believing himself, feels that when he is converted, there devolves upon him the duty of converting others—of strengthening his brethren. It is to that very practical question I ask your attention for a few moments. Not only is it in itself pertinent but it is part of a much larger one still—namely, how Christians ought to behave in reference to all forms of faith and practice which they regard as wrong—in reference, that is, to sin. Depend upon it, the most fatal mistake that can possibly be made, is to use hard words: to talk to the sinner as though he were enjoying some luxury which we begrudged him. Do we not all of us know Christians whose Christianity seems to exhaust itself in finding out that other people are wrong, and then, instead of trying to set them right, calling them hard names, and adopting that very course which is sure to harden them in their own opinions or practices?

You must fix in your mind this fact, which lies on

the very surface of the Gospel, that sin is a moral disease, much more deserving our pity than any bodily ailment—certainly not calling for vituperation or harshness in the treatment.

Look, Christians, to your great example, Christ. See him face to face with the sinful woman—one whose name was a by-word about the streets, and whose very presence shocked that good Simon, the Pharisee. See Him in presence of the adulteress, driving out her accusers with that awful scathing irony—"Let him without sin be the first to cast the stone." Nay, see Him at the very last, speaking so gently to the thief on the Cross that people are almost afraid to dwell upon the sweet words—"To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise"—lest they seem to sanction what is called a deathbed repentance.

But we are speaking now, not of moral sin or obliquity, but of the intellectual failing—I use that word advisedly—of unbelief. Look at those words to Thomas the Doubter, the ideal sceptic. There is not a word of what is termed rebuke in them. Not one whit more—if so much—than that with which the Great Master received the credulity of Nathanael, who believed Christ's Messianic claims because, forsooth, Jesus said He saw him under the fig-tree, before Simon called him. The whole tenor of Christ's words to Thomas is one of compassionate sympathy—not of rebuke or vituperation.

Fix this preliminary fact in your mind, then—that

it is no more use to tell a man to believe than to tell him to be strong, or to have an ear for music. One man has Faith, and another has not; as truly so as one man is in robust health, and another an invalid.

Of course there is such a thing as shutting one's eyes to conviction, just as it is possible to ruin one's bodily health by excesses. That, however, is not the point we are considering—but where a man, like Thomas, simply says, "I cannot believe."

But then, in the second place, you will say, Taking this type of St. Thomas, if I am not to abuse the Doubter, I may—nay, I *must*—try to convince him—to reason him out of his doubts. Your very comparison of feeble health suggests this. The physician does not leave the sick man to recover in the course of nature. He gives him medicine to heal his sickness.

Accepting, of course, the case alluded to in the text as typical, there is this to be said. If you were quite sure that you could bring to bear that kind and amount of evidence which Christ did—and which was, in fact, demonstration, then, by all means, argue with the Doubter. But when can you? I believe that more harm has been done by weak friends and injudicious advocates than by all the open enemies Christianity ever had. However much we may any of us sympathize with the spirit which animated the Christian Evidence Society to go and meet Infidelity on its own ground, we still cannot, with any truth,

say that it has been successful. I have been present at discussions between Doubters and Believers, and not, for obvious reasons, taking myself as an average listener—but supposing it possible to have a thoroughly unprejudiced person there, I felt very dubious indeed as to where such a person would say the weight of evidence lay.

We come back once more to the point from whence we set out then. Faith, though it may be strengthened by argument, does not originally come of argument, any more than of volition. That appears the great mistake of the intellectual advocates of the Bible. They seem to think that they can inspire a saving faith in its teachings, just as they can in any fact of common life. Infidelity itself is forced to confess that the *facts* of the Bible are every day receiving new corroborations. It is not these the Doubter questions; it is their supernatural origin: and this, I hold, no amount of argumentation will ever prove.

This is really only the same as saying that no amount of medicine will ever cure the sick man, unless the principle of life be there. It can aid that; but it cannot inspire it. If it is absent the man will die, in spite of all medicines.

Do we mean, then, that we are simply to leave the Doubter to his fate? We seem to have cut the ground from beneath our feet when we say that we are neither to denounce unbelief, nor to argue against it.

With the example of Christ and St. Thomas before us, and also having taken unbelief as equivalent to spiritual sickness, it is quite certain *that* is not the course we would suggest.

It appears to me that, in our treatment of these cases—that is, in our conduct with reference to those who do not believe in God or Christianity—we leave out altogether the cardinal idea of the *supernatural character of Faith.*

I dislike technical terms of theology when I can avoid them; but we seem to forget that there is such a thing as "*preventing* grace."

Thomas, remember, though in the episode of the text we see him as a sceptic, was *no* Doubter, but a tried and trained Apostle. Christ, who knew that man's soul, as God knows yours and mine, to its very depths and abysses, knew that the principle of Faith, the principle of spiritual life, remember, was there, or all the demonstration in the world would have been useless. Do you think the prints of the nails or the scar of the spear would have convinced Pilate or Caiaphas? Not at all. They would only have said it was a clever imposture.

Call to mind, too, a case which I doubt not has occurred to many of you in your commonest experience of life. When some dear one droops and fades before your eyes; when you see health's hues die out of the cheek, and youth become feeble and decrepid as palsied age, you send for the most skilled

specialist money can procure; and as he bends over the panting chest or feels the languid pulse, you tremble to hear him say "I can do nothing; the physician's work is over, because the life-giving principle is virtually gone"—and then you have to summon *us* to prepare for a higher life which no death can ever touch.

Do you not perceive to what this tends? We see a man before us who either will not (if we like to use that phrase) or *cannot* believe. We want to impart to that man the simple Christian faith which is our greatest stay and comfort here, and which we know he will want, O so sadly! when his call comes to go from this world to another.

What shall we do? *Blame* such an one? Surely not so, with the tender example of Christ and St. Thomas before us. We may venture to ask, as He did, *Is* seeing the only mode of believing? We may even moralize—How blessed it would be for you if you *could* believe without seeing. But, O brethren, for Christ's sake, literally for the sake of our Blessed Master, no hard names. No saying, Stand by, for I am holier than thou; no thanking God we are not as other men, or even as these publicans.

Shall we reason with them?—It were hard to say No, if we feel that we have the intellectual skill to fence their doubts, or if we are quite sure that we have the evidence at hand that will satisfy them—not that satisfied *us*, mind, but that will satisfy them. Only

remember that if we argue and fail to convince them, they will be sure to claim a victory, and to be confirmed in their doubt.

What I would rather advise—nay, rather what I feel our Master teaches—is this, go to your closet, and kneel down and wrestle in prayer to God for that one. Don't call this leaving him to his fate. You believe in what is called the dynamical force of prayer, do you not? Intercessory prayer is exactly what we have been speaking of as *medicine for a sin-sick soul.* You may blame a man for not believing; you may argue with him and deem your reasoning unanswerable—and yet fail. He *cannot* believe. Your logic does not touch his case. Kneel down and pray, "God, give that weak and wavering soul strength to believe and live!" that is more the attitude for a Christian believer—I mean a believer in God, not a believer in self.

Do you not remember some solemn words Christ spoke to this effect to another apostle, who was really a more habitual doubter than St. Thomas—I mean St. Peter? He said Satan had desired to have him that he might sift him as wheat; but He had done what? Rated him soundly for his frequent wavering?—No. Commenced a course of evidential instruction?—Not at all. He had prayed the Father that his faith fail not. And when he was converted, he was, in like manner, to strengthen his brethren who may in their

turn be wavering. Not by abuse; not by logic or rhetoric; but by praying to God for them.

Praying and living; for life is prayer. Do you know the great stumbling-block of the Doubter? If you don't, I can tell you. It is *the inconsistent lives of Christians.* He says, and dare we say it is unfairly, "You, with all your apparatus of Bible, Church, sacrament, service, sermon—I know not what—live no better than I with my conscience void of offence towards God and man."

It used to be the fashion to point to the Doubter's deathbed, and triumphantly say, "Look there—if unbelief helps man to live, it will not help him to die." They have their array of philosophical deaths ready to hand; and, on the other side, they point us to the deathbed terrors of the conscience-stricken Christian, and turn back the argument upon ourselves.

To pray for the Doubter, and at the same time not to silence his doubt by the quiet protest of our own holy lives, is just like giving the sick man wholesome medicine while you keep him prisoned in a poisonous atmosphere. You see this is one more instance, then, where the real Christian, like his Master, does not strive or cry, does not break the bruised reed, or quench the smoking flax. Harsh denunciations and hot arguments are the world's methods. Quiet prayer and unobtrusive piety are Christ's. What is that before which unbelievers of every class bow down in

unwilling homage?—The historical fact of Christ's moral teaching, which no casuistry can call in question. There is a path in which we can all follow Him. Tell the unbeliever to come to you, and you will show him what God has done for your soul. That your belief in God and Christ and your Bible and Church does not make you intolerant, or incline you to be argumentative; that it inspires, on the other hand, a chord of sympathy with all *his* doubts and difficulties. It is not supercilious pity that you feel; such pity would be offensive. It is not that you echo out the Psalmist's dictum, "The fool hath said in his heart 'There is no God.'" They are not fools that are saying it now. They are the world's intellectual masters. But you feel your faith in God has been a comfort and a stay to you in difficulties. You do not feel that it has forced you to dwarf your intellectual faculties, or pause for one moment in the course of practical progress. On the contrary, you feel it has helped you on in all of these. And so you will not venture to question a creed that you feel is as honest on the negative side as yours on the positive—will not say that "Doubt is devil-born." You will not presume to argue with those you freely confess your intellectual superiors. But you *will* dare to pray in secret for them. You *will* try to show them what Christ has done for you; and if all this fails, you will do no more than your Master did when commenting on the long withholden recognition of His apostle

—hope on still, and say (Christ said no more) "How blessed it would be if you *could* believe!"

I am quite content to incur the imputation either of egotism, or that which is technically termed "padding," if I convince my clerical brethren that something more is necessary than prayer and piety in these days of enlightened doubt, and that is to be able to give to every one that asks a reason for the hope that is in us. I depreciated such machinery when I preached my sermon; perhaps I unduly exalt it since I wrote my book, and that the truth, as is so often the case, lies somewhere between the two extremes.

A word again on the subject of the quotations which I have been forced to put into this volume, and which cannot fail to be as painful and offensive to those who read as they have been to myself in writing them. It was incumbent on me to *show how far the mischief has gone*, and especially to illustrate forcibly the inevitable connexion between dogmatic atheism and political disaffection. Mr. Bradlaugh's ironical Letter to the Prince of Wales is the final outcome of the doctrines held by its writer; or at least there was only one stronger expression still—not penned by Mr. Bradlaugh, but sold at his Lecture Hall—and this I could not bring myself to quote. I entreat those who feel outraged by the publication of such matter to believe that I have only tolerated it, after most careful deliberation, as a serious and unpleasant duty.

HETERODOX LONDON.

A SUNDAY SÉANCE.

It may perhaps appear to some persons that, in this and other works I have written on kindred subjects, I give too prominent a place to Modern Spiritualism. I do so advisedly, however. I stated at the outset, and I here repeat, that Modern Spiritualism is rising—nay, has risen—into the rank of a religion to an extent of which few persons are aware. The very fact that, in dealing with each part of my threefold subject, I have felt bound to treat of this new claimant on our regards, may be taken in evidence both of its ubiquity and its Protean character. As an "unorthodox" system—if it were to be considered a religious system at all—its place was clear enough; but we also found it claiming a niche in the temple of Orthodoxy. There is, I mean, a Christian Spiritualism widely prevalent in all the various religious bodies, not even excepting the Roman Catholic, but claiming particular notice from me as spreading widely over the Established Church. I have already narrated my

experiences at a Sunday Evening Séance, which was preceded by a religious service, where the officiating minister was a clergyman of the Church of England; and my present paper will detail some further sittings with this same circle; though here it will be found the religious and theological teaching assumes such a shape as to justify its comprehension in a work bearing the title of Heterodox London. The proceedings of this particular body I mean, which had so far only slipped the moorings of discipline, have now cut themselves quite aloof from distinctive Christian doctrine, and the teachings appear to me to be rapidly gravitating towards that goal which is reached by so many different approaches—namely, a Pure Theism.

But here I am beset by a difficulty which more or less attends every one who would describe the outcome of an inceptive or nascent creed; its professors are still in a Church-in-the-Catacombs kind of state, and to let in daylight upon them may be to do them serious injury. "Never mind, as long as the truth gains by it," I fancy I hear some enthusiastic defender of orthodoxy exclaim; but, it must be remembered, I am indebted to the courtesy of these good people—for I am sure they are good even if mistaken—in that I have been allowed to be present at their services and séances. They utterly disclaim all idea of propagandism (though I suppose no one ever held a creed tenaciously which he did not wish to spread), and therefore some amount of reticence will still be im-

posed upon me in reference to these phases of faith. For instance, all references to personality or locality I must not only forego, but seek to conceal and mislead my readers. I vouch, however, for facts; and I repeat my conviction that any account which proposes to be a vivid sketch of heterodoxy in 1874, and from which a picture of existing practices in Modern Spiritualism should be absent, must be meagre and unfaithful.

Although, then, I heard by a side-wind that my previous report on the Sunday Evening Séance had given some little offence, I did not find that I was utterly excommunicated. In fact, the clergyman himself, who would be most likely to be injured in respect of his bishop and congregation by such publicity, took no umbrage at all; so with respect to other objectors I did not trouble myself much; and found I had done no very serious damage from the fact of my receiving two cards, one inviting me to a service and spirit-séance, over the former of which the clergyman in question, and over the latter a distinguished American medium, was to preside; while another similar card, bearing date for the following Sunday, invited me to a celebration of the Lord's Supper, to be followed by an exercise of the gifts of magnetic healing. This promised to be heterodoxy, and no mistake; so I need scarcely say I thankfully accepted both invitations.

The address to which I was thus led was in central London, being, in point of fact, the residence of the

lady-medium herself. I entered an old-fashioned panelled parlour, which I found arranged as a chapel, a recess, wherein stood an antique oak sideboard, serving the purpose of a quasi-sacrarium. Over the face of this article of furniture was spread a red velvet frontal, with a medallion of an ecclesiastical design worked in the centre. On the sideboard were, first, a large standard crucifix, wreathed with a garland of forget-me-nots—whether natural or artificial I could not determine—and two large lighted wax *bougies*, which were necessary, as the windows were carefully shuttered and curtained, and there was no other light in the room, with the single exception of a deep red sanctuary-lamp suspended above the kneeling-cushion in front of the "altar." On the table, or sideboard itself, were numerous little photographs, presumably of friends of those accustomed to sit there, and a very small flagon and chalice of white polished metal—I fancy silver. The chairs for the congregation, about fifty in number, all fronted the altar; and there were already two or three ladies occupying them; but the room was so dark that I could not at all see what they were like, and they were, moreover, all engaged in private prayer or in reading. In fact, the whole scene looked like a private chapel in a Roman Catholic convent. At right angles to these chairs, and on both sides of the altar—I shall call it so throughout—ran two short forms which I rightly surmised were for the choir; and in the corner

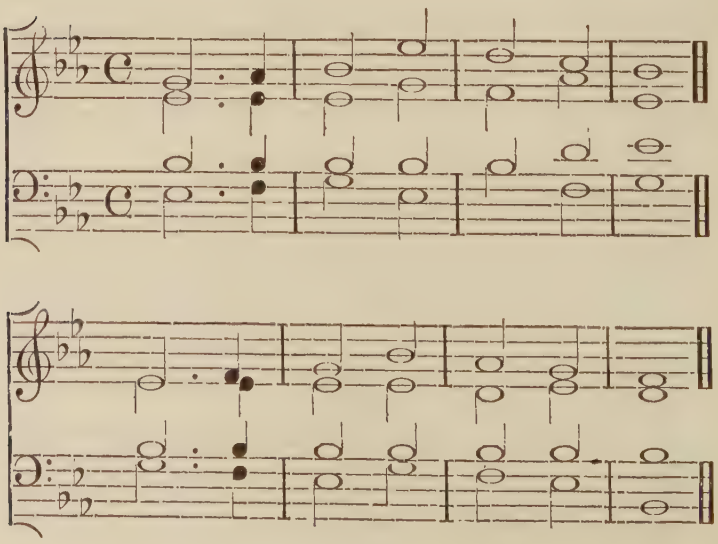
farthest from the door was a plain oak lectern, with a small harmonium behind it.

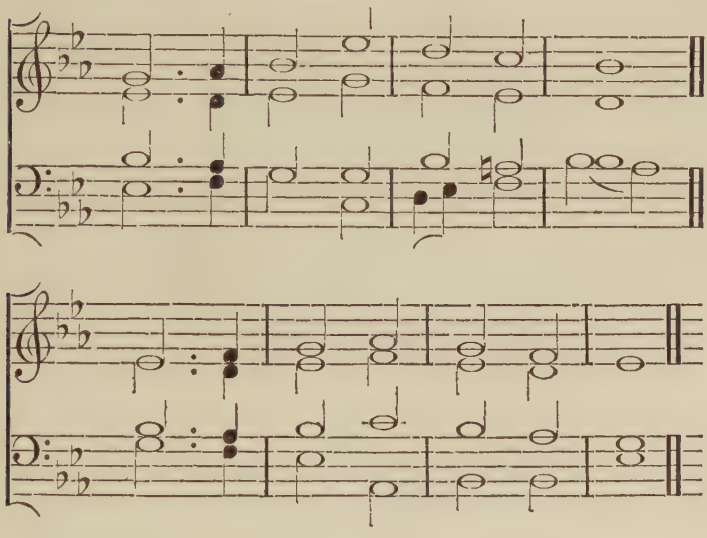
Gradually the chairs were pretty well filled—a boy in the passage keeping the door ajar so as to prevent the necessity of new-comers knocking or ringing. There seemed to be no scrutiny as to those who came; but I noticed that each one on entering made his or her way to the chimney-piece, and dropped some coin into an alms-box on which was inscribed "For Expenses." I found afterwards that all the admissions were by private invitation, and there was a tacit understanding that every one who came should contribute according to ability. I appreciated the delicacy which had not informed me upon this detail. I am very much mistaken if I did not hear the clink of gold coin more than once, as some richly-dressed and jewelled lady passed to her place during the quarter of an hour's waiting which intervened between my arrival and the beginning of the service.

At half-past three—the appointed time—a lady came in and went to the harmonium, playing a soft simple air, while the clergyman entered in white surplice only, preceded by four children similarly attired, two little boys, and two girls of ten or eleven, the latter with long golden hair streaming over their white garment. One of these carried a fuming pot of fragrant incense, which she placed on the altar, the clergyman kneeling in front, and the children prettily

grouped two on either side of him. All remained for a long time in silent devotion.

Proceedings commenced with the singing of a beautiful Metrical Litany, which I believe I am right in saying had been written by the clergyman himself, or rather compiled from many of those which had cropped up during the then recent Mission Week. The air was a very taking one; and I recognised it as a familiar one at Roman Catholic Benediction Services. It was sung antiphonally, one verse by the clergyman, the other by the choir and congregation, an accompaniment being played throughout. I noticed that all Trinitarian passages had been carefully expunged whenever the suffrages had been taken from orthodox sources. It ran, as far as I can recollect, thus :—





Priest.

Maker of the starry height,
From amid our earthly night,
When we draw Thy presence near,
Hear us, Holy Spirit, hear.

People.

(Repeat the same verse.)

Priest.

When we feel our heart within
Leading on to works of sin,
Thou our blinded gaze canst clear—
Hear us, Holy Spirit, hear.

People.

Let Thy grace in bounteous shower,
Fall with Absolution's power.
Nought with Thee as guide we fear—
Hear us, Holy Spirit, hear.

Priest (*pianissimo*).

When in silent grief we bend
Losing some departed friend,
Teach us that they still are near—
Hear us, Holy Spirit, hear.

People.

Open Thou the weeper's eye,
Make the mourner's teardrops dry;
Keep our parted ones still dear—
Hear us, Holy Spirit, hear.

Priest.

When the thorny path is trod,
Link us closely still to God.
When the storm breaks dark and drear—
Hear us, Holy Spirit, hear.

People.

In all time of our distress,
In the hour of joyfulness,
Thee alike we would revere—
Hear us, Holy Spirit, hear.

A few Collects followed, and one longer prayer, of a deeply spiritual character; but I did not recognise it as coming from any book of devotion with which I was acquainted. Then a second hymn was sung to the tune known as "Melcombe," to which the "O Salutaris Hostia" is generally set in the Benediction Service. The clergyman then passed to the lectern, and read the Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, on which he made no comment, except so far as to justify the alteration he adopted in reading the

solemn story, where he changed the word "Hell" to "Hades"—"In Hades he lift up his eyes," &c.—as he said it was desirable to leave more time for the séance. He therefore gave out a third hymn, and pronounced the beautiful Old Testament Benediction; after which he took off his surplice, and, clad in his cassock, helped the children to arrange the congregation in a sort of open square two or three deep, and to place a small table with five chairs in the centre. Then the children left; he extinguished the altar-lights, leaving only the dim glare of the red sanctuary lamp to make darkness visible, and the séance proper commenced.

There was considerably less of that plunging and kicking of the table which I find is comprehended under the title of physical manifestations. Our medium did not obtain those, and I was glad of it, for they are eminently unsatisfactory. The answers to questions came by means of minute raps, like the pecking of a bird, on the table; one of the sitters going through the alphabet, and the rap coming at the letter that was intended. There was nothing very remarkable, as far as I recollect; certainly nothing that even approached a test or might not have been communicated by any of those present. The first message that came was:—

"We are sent to tell you that God is love, and that we live."

There were little loving speeches addressed thus to

many of us, myself among the number, all of a strictly devotional character, and quite in keeping with the state of mind which might be supposed to be induced by the previous service: I was told indeed of direct writing, spirit-voices, faces and even forms, as being among the ordinary experiences of these séances, which had even obtained for it the name of the Miracle Circle; but I write strictly of what I saw myself: and to me the service was more marvellous than the séance itself.

On the next occasion when I was present the Communion was celebrated. The form used was an abridgment of the Church of England office, the Beatitudes being substituted for the Ten Commandments, as in some Unitarian Churches. It was claimed that the miraculous gifts of the first century had never died out, and that they were connected in the form of magnetic healing, with faithful reception of the consecrated—that is, they told us, the magnetized—elements. Several of those present averred that they were then and there cured of slight maladies, such as headaches, under which they laboured, and I had obviously no means of checking their assertions. In most cases, however, I was told the cure was gradual, and scarcely perceptible to any but the sufferers.

In the sermon that accompanied this service, I was surprised to hear the preacher distinctly claim to have revived the school of the sceptics—a name

which I had always fancied hateful in spiritualistic ears. Taking his basis on the Reformation of the sixteenth century as an instance of destructive theology, the preacher said it was quite impossible henceforth to admit any dogmatic halting-places. Between the poles of Catholicism and Atheism there was no resource but Scepticism. This might be of an eclectic or simply an Epicurean character; and I may be wrong, but I thought the speaker evidently inclined somewhat to the latter, and that he was disposed to question authority in morals as well as belief, not without a penchant even for the extreme of Free Love or Elective Affinity.

A SPIRITUAL "ORGANIZATION."

There is a well-known and probably inevitable tendency on the part of all sets of opinions to organize themselves into systems, and eventually to become formulated into creeds and articles of faith. It is, no doubt, part of a general law pervading nature, and running up through the physical into the intellectual and spiritual spheres, bringing about at one time the proverbial "fortuitous concourse of atoms," which hardens the nebulæ into *terra firma;* at another stereotyping the crude notions of an individual or a small community into a regular, perhaps an established, religious "system." Such is the history of most, nay, of all "Faiths." First of all they live in the conceptions of one man, the Inspired or Illuminatus of his period; then disciples are made; the electric influence spreads with the strange contagion of sympathy from one to many, from many to more; and, the impetus once given, none can calculate the circumference; for the force is centrifugal, and may widen out to any area according to the force of the original bias and the opportunities for subsequent expansion.

This tendency is variously regarded by the

devotees of the Faith in question, and by its outside critics. While the former, led away by a transitory triumph, see in such culmination only the legitimate influence of their favourite dogmas, which are now to take the world by storm, the outside observer is accustomed to associate the period of prevalence and establishment with the beginning of decrepitude and decay. He points to history and says—"See how systems, like empires, have risen to a climax and then toppled over: how they flourished while persecuted, but directly they became recognised and respectable, dwindled away!" They will even—but then these, of course, are Heterodox people—point to existing systems such as Wesleyanism, or even the Church at large, and say with Sir Christopher Wren's epitaph—"Si monumentum requiris, *circumspice!*"

Modern Spiritualism is just undergoing the throes of such a crisis in this year of grace 1874, twenty-six years from the time when, on the eve of All Fools' Day, the now historic Rochester Rappings were first heard in the Fox household. It has passed through all the infantile trials incidental to a nascent system—the moral measles and whooping-cough of communities—and now, feeling itself to have attained manly proportions, wishes to assume its *toga virilis* with all the ardour of young Hopeful, who pictures to himself the first dress-coat as the acme of existence. How little does that ambitious juvenile dream of the shawdowy frontier-line that separates the prime of

life from senility; or would he not cling to his round jackets and aspire to perpetuate his knickerbockers, lest he developed prematurely (as it will always seem) into the "lean and slippered pantaloon?"

Emanating, then, most clearly from that Rochester homestead in the States, and still represented in Heterodox London by Mrs. Jencken, *née* Kate Fox, Spiritualism slowly but surely invaded these shores of the antique world. Mr. Home may be considered its St. Paul, for he was the apostle to whom is largely due the conversion of our Orbis Veteribus Notus. He has borne testimony before many of the crowned heads of Europe; and my own "experiences" of Spiritualism commenced from the fact of my being resident in Paris in the year 1857, and Mr. Home a nightly guest at the Tuileries. So it was that "circles" were formed. The Spiritual Institution of Mr. Burns was formed first at Camberwell, and then in the more central situation it now occupies at 15, Southampton Row. This has for years been the focal point of London Spiritualism; and only the more ambitious spirits even now feel they have outgrown the limits of that "Progressive Library." Then the Dialectical Society examined and reported upon the new creed. Fellows of the Royal Society fought about it in Quarterly Reviews and Journals of Science. Learned Serjeants of the Law wrote gravely of it; and here and there a clergyman, less timid or time-serving than his fellows, confessed there

might be "something in it." So the influence spread, and is spreading; and so—wisely or unwisely—some of its professors have resolved to organize, and have chosen for themselves the lofty title of the "British National Association of Spiritualists," of whose platform more anon.

It is easy to see that such an organization, though possibly contemplating no rivalry with the existing "Institution," will certainly disintegrate the as yet United Happy Family. Far-seeing men, too, like Mr. William Howitt, have written deprecating the proposed organization on the grounds above-mentioned—viz., as being a possible precursor of decay; but the British Association is aspiring and ambitious, and will listen to no arguments from anxious friends. Probably before these pages see the light, that organization whose commencement they chronicle will be an accomplished fact.

Having been for so many years a careful examiner of the claims of Spiritualism, and a close attendant on all the meetings of the Dialectical Society during its examination there, I was honoured by the Provisional Council of the British Association of Spiritualists by being invited to a seat on their board. I did not feel able to avail myself of this privilege; but still was enabled to be present at one or two of their meetings while there was being waged what might be called the Battle of the Prospectuses. (One feels almost tempted to ignore declensions and write Prospect*i*,

like the would-be classical lady who spoke of the omnib*i*!)

Two rival prospectuses had been put forward; one by Mr. Herbert Noyes, an Oxford graduate, and among the most devoted disciples of Spiritualism; another by a lady bearing the Charles Dickens-like name of Miss Kislingbury. Strange to say, the gentleman's document was long and diffuse, the lady's short and concise. Consequently the latter found favour with the British Association, and was perhaps, on that account, more fitted for general circulation; but Mr. Noyes's paper gives such an excellent idea of the present position, aims, and prospects of Modern Spiritualism, that I cannot forbear giving some excerpts from it at the end of this account.

When I accepted the invitation of the Provisional Council to be present at one of its sittings, I really thought I must have made a mistake; for, on repairing to the address specified, I found that it was one of the most palatial offices in the City of London. I must not, of course, give the faintest clue to its whereabouts; but it was with even more than my usual diffidence that I rang the bell and asked the janitor if "a meeting"—it was so I ambiguously phrased it—were taking place upstairs. It was all right; and he marshalled me into a resplendent office, where about a dozen gentlemen and two ladies were sitting round the largest circular table I ever saw. They might have been going in for a séance—I should

have liked to see *that* table skip about!—but they were not. They were debating, paragraph by paragraph, Miss Kislingbury's very concise and practical Prospectus.

I will not relate how we sped slowly, word by word, through the two final paragraphs; how some gentlemen wanted to organize so fully as to start forthwith an Index Expurgatorius for excommunicating tricky Mediums; how Sensitives were to be "certificated" like cabmen; how, while one wanted a Spiritual Church to be included in the Association's Central Buildings, another felt that the new Faith had outgrown the necessities of Temples built with hands. There seemed every variety of religious and political opinion represented at that Eclectic Board; and it amused me to calculate the chances of their ever agreeing on the moral qualities of a Medium—or indeed on any other subject here or in the spheres!

Suffice it to say the "organizing" even of the short Prospectus took us three mortal hours, and they had had I do not know how many such sittings before my time. This was the form the document assumed whilst I was there; but the stiff-necked gentleman who went in for certificating Mediums gave notice that he should move resolutions next time calculated to re-model the whole affair. It struck me, however, that to quote this inceptive form of the shorter Prospectus, and Mr. Noyes', which was

rejected solely on account of its dimensions, would be likely to give as good an idea as we could possibly get of the position of Modern Spiritualism in 1874.

I am, of course, unable to give names, or the faintest indication of personality; but let me state that those twelve men I saw round that voluminous mahogany were hard-headed practical men, well-to-do in their several professions, and the chairman, a grey-bearded gentleman, who went in at that Prospectus with as shrewd a business-like air as though he were prospecting a new company. There was no rhodomontade or nonsense. They were a practical dozen of men, met to embody principles in which they believed intensely, and which they thought it would serve the world to spread. This, then, was the document to which, so far, they were prepared to "set their hands and seals."

"Declaration of Principles and Purposes.

"Spiritualism implies the recognition of an inner nature in man. It deals with facts concerning that inner nature, the existence of which has been the subject of speculation, dispute, and even of denial, amongst philosophers in all ages; and in particular, with certain manifestations of that inner nature which have been observed in persons of peculiar organizations, now called Mediums or Sensitives, and in ancient times, Prophets, Priests, and Seers.

"Spiritualism claims to have established on a firm

scientific basis the immortality of man, the permanence of his individuality, and the Open Communion, under suitable conditions, of the living with the so-called dead, and affords grounds for the belief in progressive spiritual states in new spheres of existence.

"Spiritualism furnishes the key to the better understanding of all religions, ancient and modern. It explains the philosophy of Inspiration, and supersedes the popular notion of the miraculous by the revelation of hitherto unrecognised laws.

"Spiritualism tends to abrogate exaggerated class distinctions; to reunite those who are now too often divided by seemingly conflicting material interests; to encourage the co-operation of men and women in many new spheres; and to uphold the freedom and rights of the individual, while maintaining as paramount the sanctity of family life.

"Finally, the general influence of Spiritualism on the individual is to inspire him with self-respect, with a love of justice and truth, with a reverence for Divine law, and with a sense of harmony between man, the universe, and God.

"The British National Association of Spiritualists is formed to unite spiritualists of every variety of opinion, for their mutual aid and benefit; to promote the study of Pneumatology and Psychology; to aid students and inquirers in their researches, by placing at their disposal the means of systematic investigation into the now recognised facts and phenomena, called

Spiritual or Psychic; to make known the positive results arrived at by careful scientific research; and to direct attention to the beneficial influence which those results are calculated to exercise upon social relationships and individual conduct. It is intended to include Spiritualists of every class, whether members of Local and Provincial Societies or not, and all inquirers into psychological and kindred phenomena.

"The Association, while cordially sympathizing with the teachings of Jesus Christ, will hold itself entirely aloof from all dogmatism or finalities, whether religious or philosophical, and will content itself with the establishment and elucidation of well-attested facts, as the only basis on which any true religion or philosophy can be built up.

"The Association proposes, when circumstances permit, to establish a Central Institution, comprising a Hall, Lecture and Séance Rooms, also a Library for the use of Members, and for the benefit of all students of psychical and spiritual phenomena; to keep a register of Mediums or Psychics, with the view of affording facilities for investigation; and to promote co-operation and intercommunion between Spiritualists in all parts of the world.

"The Association, while aiming to unite the advantages of vigorous centralization with the benefits of independent local effort and local self-government, emphatically disclaims any right or desire to interfere with the action of Societies or Institutions already

established. It is hoped that Local and Provincial Organizations will avail themselves of the powers afforded in its Rules by becoming affiliated with the 'British National Association,' and by appointing from their own body a member to represent them on the Council."

With reference to Mr. Noyes' prospectus, the *Spiritualist* (one of the organs of this denomination) says—

"Several of the members of the Council of the National Association drew up a prospectus each, and aftewards compared them. The one finally adopted originated with Miss Kislingbury, but some of Mr. Noyes' suggestions were incorporated with it, after which it was considerably revised by a committee. The prospectus suggested by Mr. T. Herbert Noyes, jun., B.A. (Oxon), was an elaborate document; it was not adopted, but is of interest, coming as it does from a highly-educated and intelligent gentleman, who has given much thought to the question, 'What work should a national organization undertake?' It touches upon many controversial subjects, and gives the opinions of Mr. Noyes as to the position which an organization should assume in respect thereto as follows:—

"I. The victories of civilization have been achieved by a judicious organization of the units of society, and the advantages of intelligent co-operation are

now so universally acknowledged that it would be unpardonable for Spiritualists to ignore them.

"II. It has accordingly been determined to draw up articles of association upon the broadest possible basis, and invite the co-operation of all students of pneumatology and psychology—a numerous and flourishing minority, who may reasonably expect ere long to absorb the majority.

III. The first question for consideration was the choice of a style and title for the new Association, and after much deliberation it has been decided to call it, 'The British National Association of Spiritualists.'

"To obviate possible misconceptions, we proceed to define the meaning we attach to the terms selected.

"We have chosen the terms 'British National' to express our intention that all persons who for the time being are sojourners within the British dominions, shall be eligible as members, and having regard to the fact of the intimate association between *the spirit* and *the soul*, we have chosen the word *Spiritualist* with the intent that it should be taken to include all *Psychologists*, all students and investigators of facts and phenomena called *spiritual* or *psychical*, and that it shall not be taken to imply adhesion to any preconceived theory or any religious dogma whatsoever. We do not even intend that it shall exclude professed materialists who seek admission to our ranks.

"IV. The next question for consideration was the

definition of the functions of the Association, the aims and objects of its organization, and these we have now to enumerate.

"1. The first object of the Association is to secure the public and general recognition and intelligent appreciation of the marvellous facts and phenomena which first attracted public notice at Rochester in the United States, through the intervention of Miss Kate Fox, now Mrs. Jencken, and which have since been observed, with innumerable modifications and unexpected developments, by millions of credible witnesses in all parts of the world. Phenomena inexplicable by any previously recognised laws of nature, phenomena which have hitherto baffled the ingenuity of all critics who questioned their spiritual origin, phenomena which are daily occurring in our own family circles, and which now claim to extend the realm of nature and the reign of law to an invisible world, and bid fair to vanquish the scepticism of the votaries of science, as well as the prejudices of the religious world.

"2. The second object of the Association is to secure to all students and investigators the necessary facilities for systematic investigation and study—facilities which in the face of an adverse public opinion, due to our traditional prejudices and hereditary misconceptions, can only be secured by organized and energetic co-operation, and by the judicious management of a common purse.

"3. The third object of the Association is to study, formulate, and promulgate the new systems of metaphysical and moral philosophy and religious teaching, which would seem to be the legitimate outcome, and all sufficient justification of these same facts and phenomena, however trivial they may appear in their earlier manifestations to superficial observers.

"The achievement of these objects involves—

"1. The collection of records of such occurrences during the last twenty-five years, whether published or unpublished, and a diligent comparison of such records with the records of similar occurrences which have taken place in all ages and among all nations, but which have been misunderstood, misrepresented, and discredited, as being miraculous and outside of law, or assigned to superstitious and epidemic delusions.

"2. It involves the diligent investigation and verification of the occult sciences of the Middle Ages, and the much neglected science of Mesmerism, which are concerned with such phenomena, as well as the study of ancient religions and ancient mysteries, inasmuch as the experience of the past is useful for the elucidation of the present, and may itself be elucidated by the multitude of novel facts elicited by modern discoveries.

"3. It involves the collection, recording, and classification of contemporary testimony to the occurrence of similar phenomena in our homes, and

the diligent scrutiny of multitudinous facts, collectively and individually on the part of the Association and its members.

"4. And inasmuch as these facts and phenomena are ascertained to take place only in the presence and by the intervention of certain exceptionally gifted persons, now called 'Mediums,' 'Sensitives,' and 'Clairvoyants,' but of old called 'Prophets,' 'Priests,' and 'Seers;' and inasmuch as their exceptional gifts have been proved to require cultivation and development under very subtle and delicate conditions, it involves much diligent labour in the discovery, cultivation, education, and classification of public and private Mediums, and, further, a diligent investigation of the conditions most favourable to the manifestation of the highest phenomena.

"5. And inasmuch as these phenomena are not only physical, but metaphysical, and have developed since the earlier manifestations into multitudinous phases which correspond to and even transcend the spiritual gifts enumerated in the New Testament, and throw new and unexpected light on the philosophy of inspiration and revelation, yielding cogent proof that there was no greater finality in the revelation of the Christian era than in the revelations of the Mosaic era—it involves an obligation to make these facts widely known, however unpalatable they may be to popular prejudices; it involves an obligation to publish the fact that if the world is unwilling to welcome

unpalatable truths, it must be because it is unwilling to give up its malpractices—unwilling to welcome truths which will exhibit them in their true light, and prove it to be a wicked world; and it involves an obligation to proclaim that all who have the progress and prosperity of the world at heart, will do well to welcome Spiritualism.

"6. And, lastly, inasmuch as it has been found of great practical importance that séances should be held in rooms specially appropriated and preserved, like the chancels of our churches, from mixed influences, and that such conditions are at present difficult of attainment; and as, moreover, it has proved difficult to find even public lecture halls in suitable localities open to lecturers who do not belong to the reputed orthodox schools, and equally difficult to obtain free circulation for the literature of Spiritualism, it involves the founding of a Central Institution, comprising a public lecture hall, library, reading, and séance rooms, with all the machinery of a missionary organization in some central situation, as a model for similar institutions.

"Now, inasmuch as the world is now-a-days ready to receive truth, if convinced of it—willing to receive truth when it is found to be true—we think it is desirable to put before it the facts which we believe it will discover to be true. We think it will find that the mission of Spiritualism will be to introduce

Reforms into the political and social systems of the world, which will be the inauguration of a *New Dispensation.*

"We will, therefore, proceed to enumerate the missions of Spiritualism, as they appear to us to present themselves, under the influence of the teaching of the invisible world.

"THE MISSIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

"1. To afford demonstration of the fact of the Immortality of the Soul, and so to arrest the materialistic tendencies of modern philosophies, and to disarm death of its terrors.

"2. To throw new light on the moral government of the visible universe by invisible agencies; to furnish fresh proofs of the perfections of the Almighty; and to dispel doubts of the efficacy of Prayer by disclosing its true philosophy.

"3. To supplement the ancient Revelations of the future state. To prove the unbroken continuity of conscious existence and personal identity in the mental condition of the departed, and their ability and inclination to open communications with those whom they have loved and left on earth.

"4. To disclose and promulgate the conditions and laws of such open communication, and to cause the experience of the most highly favoured few to be utilized for the benefit of the less highly favoured many.

"5. To teach that the best preparation for our future state is a life of energy and activity, lived up to the highest physical, moral, and intellectual standard attainable in this world, by the harmonious development and adequate exercise of all the faculties with which each man is individually endowed, and that, while it is well to direct special attention to the cultivation of special aptitudes, none of the higher faculties can safely be left uncultivated.

"6. To indicate and revive the time-honoured belief that the protection of *Guardian Angels* is still, and has ever been accorded to mankind, and to prove that these willing workers exert an occult influence even upon those who are wholly unconscious of their presence, and utterly ignore their agency; and that their special mission is to keep alive the still small voice of conscience, and flash bright thoughts into the head, and pure and holy aspirations into the heart, so long as their benign influence is not repelled by obstinate persistence in the paths of transgression. That they are, indeed, willing workers of all good works in the spirit world, ever ready to aid those who need their aid in all things needful for their temporal and eternal welfare.

"7. To vindicate and revive the belief, as old as the days of Hesiod, that our Guardian Angels are generally the spirits of our departed fellow mortals, who, having once inhabited our earth, have their

experience of the troubles of life to guide them in ministering to us.

"8. To rectify the current misconceptions of the powers of evil, and to prove to the world that the Prince of Darkness employs innumerable agencies, made ready to his hand by the rulers of the world in which we live; inasmuch as the hosts who do his work are the undeveloped Spirits who have passed unpurified from earth life into the spirit world, whence they gladly return to earth to gratify their own evil passions by inspiring men of like passions with themselves with evil thoughts and impure desires.

"9. To convince the world that the powers of evil will eventually be conquered by the invisible hosts of the Almighty, when the end of the present dispensation shall have come, but not till after the earth shall have been desolated by terrible wars, which, within the brief period of ten years from the present time, will have ceased for ever, if the world will but believe in the power of the angel world to deliver them from their invisible foes.

"10. To revive and place upon a rational basis the practice of praying for departed friends, by disclosing the fact that they often yearn for human sympathy, and are conscious of its being accorded them; and that if they have not yet risen to the happier spheres, and are still earth-bound spirits, messengers of mercy

and love may be sent to aid them in answer to our petitions.

"11. To prove to the world that the state of the soul after its departure into spirit life is not fixed, final, and stationary, but a state of progressive and eternal development; not a state of rest and idleness, but a state of energy and activity, in which all its mental powers cultivated on earth will find suitable employment, and in which many other faculties now dormant will be developed—a state much more closely resembling our own than has heretofore been conceived. To show in short that the world has been heretofore left to look forward to rest in Heaven, as being the way in which it could best be taught to realize the soul's release from many of the physical sufferings of the earth-life which are intended for the purification of the spirit.

"12. To make clear to the world that the Day of Death is the Day of Judgment, and that the prevalent belief in the Resurrection of the body is due to a misconception of the fact of the resurrection of the Spiritual body, which is coincident with the death of the mortal body.

"13. To throw light on many most important physiological questions involved in the relations of the indwelling soul and spirit to the mortal body—to wit, the action of the mind upon the brain, and the action of the brain upon the nervous system.

"14. To discover and promote the development of

whatever faculties may be latent in human nature, and thereby to show that the unfolding of higher and nobler faculties is the ultimate destiny of every soul of man.

"15. To extend the domain of science to the realms of the invisible, the impalpable, and the imponderable, and to supersede the supernatural by proving that the occult mysteries of human nature, heretofore deemed beyond the reach of human intellect, if not forbidden to human research, are destined to be revealed to the truth-seeker, to the unspeakable advantage of humanity.

"16. To dissipate erroneous views of the distinction between Science and Religion, and to build up a new Church based on the identity of religious and secular knowledge.

"17. To winnow the wheat of truth from the chaff of theology, and reconcile antagonistic creeds by eliminating their errors, and making manifest the spiritual truths which underlie all systems of religious belief in the world.

"18. To encourage willing works of Love, Mercy, and Charity upon earth.

"19. To promulgate a sounder system of Political Economy calculated to remedy many crying social evils.

"20. To remedy the evils resulting from excessive irregularity in the distribution of Wealth under the present system of social and political economy

which has made the rich too rich and the poor too poor.

"21. To sow the seeds of a general Reformation of Morals, and bring about the cure of moral and physical diseases in the way which nature would be found to prescribe when her occult laws come to be understood.

"22. To bring about a more rational observance of the Day of Rest and recreation by a more liberal application of the maxim that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath, a maxim which is opposed to the common practice of making it a fast day.

"23. To introduce a sounder system of Education by directing more special attention to the discovery and cultivation of the natural gifts of our children, and by encouraging the general teaching of the elements of physiological and psychic science in our elementary schools, seeing that an intelligent appreciation of these subjects is essential to the attainment of the highest physical, moral, and intellectual development.

"24. To vindicate, popularize, and perfect the much neglected but most important sciences of *Phrenology* and *Physiognomy*, and introduce them into our national schools and seminaries, with a view to the utilizing to the utmost of our educational resources, and to the great benefit that would accrue to society if the practical use of these sciences in dealing with

their neighbours were understood by the people at large.

"25. To suggest reforms in the principles of our Criminal Legislation, and in the practice of our penal establishments.

"26. To reform the principles of our Lunacy Legislation and the practice of our lunatic asylums.

"27. To bring about the liberation of many Sensitives and Mediums now wrongfully incarcerated in these asylums on account of their possessing faculties not comprehended by the Faculty, and who, if liberated, under judicious treatment, would prove to be some of the most useful members of society.

"28. To inaugurate extensive Sanitary Reforms by enforcing the more general application of the principle that prevention is better than cure, and by suggesting radical improvements in the principles and practice of the healing art. Such improvements may consist in the introduction of more scientific methods of using resources provided by the beneficent action of the laws of the world of spirits, in the suggestions of novel applications of the use of changes of temperature, and of the uses of air, light, and darkness, in the disclosure of the use of many simple remedies at present unknown to the world, and of the efficient use of many hitherto misused drugs, and in the development of the remedial uses of electricity and magnetism, which, although of late introduced by a few en-

lightened practitioners, are still ignored by the Faculty at large.

"29. To suggest reforms in the principles upon which our Hospitals are conducted, and to bring their practice more into harmony with the laws which nature prescribes.

"30. To revive the ancient practice of *healing by imposition of hands,* and to build up as a science that beneficent art, as ancient as the world itself, which is known among us by the modern name of 'Mesmerism;' an art which is empirically practised all over the world under various names, but whose sphere of usefulness would be vastly enlarged, if the principles which lie at the root of the practice were made to yield their secrets to scientific research.

"31. To revive and popularize the ancient practice of *Cremation,* which is so preferable to burial, from a sanitary point of view, and which will be useful to make the world understand that the body will not rise again in the flesh, but in the spirit.

"32. To minister consolation to the bereaved, and prove that it would be more rational to mourn for the survivors.

"33. To suggest reforms in the principles of our Poor Law Legislation, and remedies for the terrible evils of our Workhouse system.

"34. To cause the rights of the Labouring Classes to a larger share of the produce of their labour to be conceded.

"35. To improve the condition of the Labouring Classes in this country in the matter of wages, in the matter of dwellings, in the matter of education, and in the matter of well-doing in the world; and especially to ameliorate the condition of the workers in factories, mills, mines, and mineral workshops and manufactories dealing with poisonous materials, who sacrifice their health for hire, and who will not help themselves; and those who labour in the seething workshops of private tradesmen who will not help their workpeople. We are not blind to the fact that the attention of the Legislature has of late been directed to these crying evils; but we know that Legislation has been powerless to eradicate them, and we believe that it will continue to be powerless until the true principles of action come to be better understood; and these principles we believe it to be the mission of Spiritualism to inculcate.

"36. To raise the standard of humanity, and improve the physical and mental conditions of future generations, by directing attention to many questions relating to *Marriage*, and the psychological influences affecting unborn babes which have been so grievously overlooked, to the great detriment of the human race; and especially effects resulting from marriages contracted from mercenary motives, and from the irregularities incidental to the more or less nominal celibacy of so large a percentage of the population.

"37. To cause the Rights of Woman to be recognised to the full.

"38. To cause the Wrongs of Woman to be redressed to the full.

"39. To open the Churches of England to the free use of the laity for the secular instruction of the people on week days and Sundays, after the brilliant example recently set by the Dean of Westminster, and to show that all truth, all knowledge, and all wisdom may fitly be taught therein without profanation from the pulpits hitherto monopolized by the clergy, but hereafter destined for the free use of faithful Mediums.

"40. To inaugurate a universal Missionary work with a view to make the world wiser and more willing to render efficient help to the poor, the weak, and the afflicted, wherever they are to be found, and generally to do the work of the Spirit-world in amending the evils of the world in which we live.

"41. To teach that the last will be the first in the Kingdom of Heaven, if the last is the most deserving in the world of spirits, and has been the most deserving in the earth-life; and that the first in earthly honours will be the last in spirit-life if he have won no higher place by his own merits.

"42. And generally to enlighten the world in all matters in which the occult influence of Spiritual agency has been heretofore ignored. . . . .

"Having thus enumerated some of the many missions which modern Spiritualism seems destined to fulfil, it becomes our duty to consider by what

practical measures this Association may best improve the suggestions, and second the philanthropic aims of the invisible world.

"It has been decided that the corporate affairs of the Association shall be committed to a large and liberal representative Council, who trust that their initiative will be cordially seconded by the energetic co-operation of a very numerous body of members, working collectively and individually in their several spheres.

"It has been decided that the gates of membership shall be thrown open to all honest students and applicants who are able and willing to contribute as a minimum the small annual subscription of 5*s*.

"But inasmuch as a large expenditure must be incurred efficiently to further the multitudinous objects which have been indicated, it is hoped that special subscriptions and donations will be offered by those whose means enable them more liberally to promote the laudable and philanthropic work which is contemplated.

"It is proposed to establish, as soon as possible, in the most central situation that can be procured in the metropolis, an Institution comprising a public Hall and Lecture rooms, Reading-room, Library, and Séance rooms, where discourses may be delivered and séances held on week-days and Sundays; an institution which shall not only be a focus of radiation and attraction for all inquirers, worthy of the

Spiritualists of England, but also serve as a model for local affiliated institutions which it is hoped will ere long be found not only in all the different districts of the metropolis, but in all centres of population in the United Kingdom.

"It is proposed to found in connexion with this Institution, and so soon as funds will permit, a College of Mediums, at which all Psychics, Sensitives, Clairvoyants, and Mediums may be instructed how best to discover, cultivate, and develop their latent gifts; a College calculated to offer opportunities for the more systematic study of the various phenomena than can now be obtained, and special facilities for the study of the occult sciences in general.

"It is proposed that diplomas shall be granted by this College to all such Mediums and Sensitives, whether trained and developed within its walls or not, as are able to satisfy the Association of the genuine character of their gifts and their own trustworthiness, after undergoing such tests as may be deemed conclusive by the Council, and that diplomas shall also be issued to lecturers on Phrenology, Physiognomy, Mesmerism, Psychology, Pneumatology, and other occult Sciences, who are found qualified to undertake the missionary labours of the Association.

"It is proposed that registers and records shall be kept of all such Mediums, Sensitives, and Clairvoyants, and their specialties, for the use of individual members and affiliated Societies, and also registers of

all important facts and phenomena communicated to the Society by its members and correspondents which can be authenticated to the satisfaction of the Council, and that the due authentication of all such recorded facts be the special function of a standing judicial committee of the Council. It is further proposed that in connexion with the Institution and the College of Mediums there shall be established a Mesmeric Hospital and a School of Mesmerism, in which that important branch of the healing art may be studied, practised, and developed into a systematic Science, and in which gratuitous treatment may be provided for the poor by the most gifted healers.

"It is proposed that the library of the Association shall be stocked with all the ancient and modern works on pneumatology, psychology, mesmerism, phrenology, physiognomy, and the kindred sciences, which can be collected, and rendered accessible to all members under the most liberal regulations compatible with security.

"It is proposed that public Services, Lectures, and Séances be held on week-days and Sundays, at the central Institution, so soon as it is possible to found one, and that in the meanwhile the Council shall do their best to further the objects of the Association, by promoting publicity and organizing lectures and public meetings in churches, chapels, halls, and lecture rooms in town and country, wherever and whenever it is practicable, but above all that they

should direct their attention to the discovery and development of Mediums and Psychics willing to devote their gifts to the service of the Association and its missionary labours in the cause of truth ; and that steps be taken to make due provision to preserve all approved workers from the temptations of the necessitous. But inasmuch as the extent to which these operations can be undertaken must be regulated by the condition of the funds at the command of the Council, and their execution will involve grave consideration of innumerable questions of detail which will arise from time to time, it will be desirable that the work of progressive organization of the several departments should be remitted to standing committees of the council, who should report from time to time, and whose reports, when discussed and approved, should be duly circulated among the members in the journals of the Association and the quarterly reports of the Council.

"Meanwhile it is proposed that immediate steps shall be taken to raise the funds requisite for the establishment of this central Institution by co-operative action, under the provisions of the Limited Liability Acts, upon a plan in which all Spiritualists, Psychologists, and Students of humanity in the United Kingdom may be invited to assist according to their inclination; and of which it is intended to embody the details in a paper which will be circulated with the present manifesto."

From this it would appear that the method of the Spiritualists is something like a combination of pure Positivism with unlimited Scepticism. Much as they mislike that word in its loose colloquial sense, it really does, in its etymological acceptance, clearly express their tenets. They rest on the demonstrations of science—a science, however, which does not illogically stop short at the physical or intellectual, ignoring the spiritual portion of man's being, but applies its rigorous analysis to the domain of revelation hitherto disposed of in the wide category of the supernatural. Spiritualism has no such word as Supernatural. It substitutes the certainly less objectionable term supra-sensual—for who shall presume to define the limits of nature? It is quite impossible to set superciliously aside a system which has the support of such scientific men as Mr. Crookes, F.R.S., and Mr. Cromwell Varley, the former of whom has, while these sheets were passing through the press, declared his positive conviction, based on scientific experiment and the evidence of his senses, that the hitherto suspected Spirit Forms are no result of trickery, but a legitimate case of Double.

AN INSPIRATIONAL SPEAKER.

One of the most recent developments of that Protean thing called Modern Spiritualism is in the direction of Inspirational Speaking by gifted ladies. The Sibyls are generally, though not always feminine; and indulge in the very tallest of tall talk by the hour together under the guidance of possessing spirits. I once heard a plain-spoken old gentleman, the late Professor Donovan, say in public and in presence of such a speaker, he really did not think much of this particular kind of manifestation, "because," he added, "it requires no ghost to come from the dead "*to make a lady talk!*" That was in reference to Mrs. Emma Hardinge, who was, I believe, the first Inspirational Speaker we had in England. She came to London in 1866, and when I was taken by Mr. Benjamin Coleman to hear her at the Beethoven Rooms, I at once recognised her, and remembered her name, as an actress at the Adelphi Theatre in the year 1850—51. Strangely enough—and it struck me as a great testimony to the new powers of Mrs. Hardinge—I recollected her as a then young actress who used to play in a farce called "My Precious Betsy," with Wright and Mrs. Frank Matthews; and the two veteran players took

a delight in "gagging" and throwing out the young actress, who could not wander one degree from her part without floundering. Mrs. Frank Matthews remembered the circumstance distinctly; and agreed with me that about the last person she would ever have expected to see come out as a public speaker was Emma Hardinge! The reigning favourite at present in London is Mrs. Cora Tappan, who was better known as a medium in America by her maiden name of Cora Hatch. She came out with considerable *éclat* at St. George's Hall, after which she drifted to Weston's Music Hall in Holborn, in which slightly incongruous locality she set up her "Spiritual Church." Now she has abandoned the ecclesiastical title, and hangs out at Cleveland Hall, somewhere down a slum by Fitzroy Square. *Facilis descensus!*

It was in this locality I heard her a few Sundays since, after much inquiry on the part of my enterprising cabman, who thought he could find out the place, but could not. Our lengthened wanderings made us late; and by the time we had paid our shillings at the entrance Mrs. Tappan had begun to pray, and the door was shut.

In a little time it was re-opened, so that the liturgical exercises must have been brief, and we were admitted into an unmitigated Dancing Academy, where a fair congregation was gathered, and at the farther end Mrs. Tappan was mounted on a platform extemporized from refreshment tables, and accompa-

nied by an old gentleman in a chair, before whom was a table with a conventional water bottle which had seen better days, and a big Bible.

Mrs. Tappan was dressed neatly in black, with a profusion of golden hair—very golden indeed, falling in studied negligence over her shoulders. She had a tasteful bunch of flowers on her head, and another on her bosom. She is a fine woman, above the middle height, and decidedly good-looking. When we entered she was sitting in a plain Windsor chair, holding her head as though she had the toothache, but presumably in converse with the invisibles. The elderly gentleman read a few verses from 1 Corinthians xv., and we sang, first an anthem and then a hymn; after which Mrs. Tappan rose, and in a clear silvery voice, and strain of unbroken eloquence, delivered her Inspirational Address, as follows:—

"We propose this evening to give you some of the truths concerning the influences of the present life upon the future, and what condition the spirit shall occupy in reference to that future life. The passage which has been read from Paul, were we to subject it to the scrutiny that is usually given to secular writings, would not bear the test of strict logical criticism, inasmuch as it conveys within itself a seeming contradiction. This difficulty may be overcome by suggesting another word for the word 'it;' since it leaves the mind of the reader in somewhat of a

doubt as to what 'is sown in weakness' and what 'raised in power.' In one instance he says it shall 'put on corruption;' 'it is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body;' and in the next sentence, 'There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body.' Now, if the same body is first a natural and then a spiritual body, why does he say there are two bodies—the natural body and the spiritual one?

"Upon this one chapter hangs largely the foundation for the belief in the resurrection of the material body; but we think no careful student, no one who reads it with an eye to the spiritual meaning, can for one moment determine that that which he refers to as being the part resurrected can apply to the physical body. We do not think there is the slightest shadow of foundation, except ambiguity in the use of the word 'it.' But this may be the fault of the interpreter. It may be that one word meaning the substance of man himself—the soul or spirit—is here referred to; and that this single syllable entirely perverts the meaning of the original writer. Most assuredly we must take into account the fact that Paul's writings were not all of them the teachings of Jesus; that he afterwards introduced and incorporated many of his own previous scholastic views; and with the exception of the general phases of the Christian teachings, Paul's doctrines were disputed among the early Christians; and the followers of Apollos and Cephas did not accept many

of Paul's interpretations and his references to the present and future life. But whatever credit and whatever authority may be given to a singularly gifted, zealous, and studious apostle should be given to the writings of Paul. However, the question now promises a more speedy solution from the fact that it is not only impossible, but is confessedly at variance with the existing laws of nature to suppose that the whole mass of mankind shall be raised physically from their graves. We doubt even if the most tenacious adherent to the letter of these epistles believes it in reality. The earth itself does not contain substance enough to fashion material bodies for the entire human family that have lived upon it. The component parts of many human bodies in existence to-day have been parts of other bodies that existed ages ago; and it would be a singular position in the laws of nature and anatomy to determine in what particular body an atom should take its place when it has now occupied many bodies before. But the spiritual significance of this discussion is apparent, and so apparent and plain that he who runs may read. Yet many there are who refuse to read with the eye of the spirit, and only interpret literally that which should be interpreted with the spiritual significance.

"The resurrection of Christ is referred to as authoritative with reference to the physical resurrection. But it must be remembered that the record is a little dubious in this account. When it is said

that he lay in the sepulchre three days, and when it is said that previous to his death he said to the thief on the cross by his side, 'This day shalt thou be in Paradise,' where, during the three days he was immured in the sepulchre, was he? The tradition is that he visited the spirits in prison, and when he arose he requested those who saw him not to touch him, that he had not yet ascended to his Father. Now, either he did not know that he would ascend, and so could not make promises, or he had gone in spirit to Paradise to unseal the spirits in prison, and so afterwards returned to his material body—to his disciples in the material body. All these points of your belief it remains for the theological student to clear up; our own opinion being that the spiritual body was not sufficiently strong to undergo the contact of those who were about him, and that he appeared to them in a form resembling his own physical body. There is another point often discussed among theologians, but one with which we have very little to do, and that is as to the actual time when this resurrection shall take place. Those who believe in a final and entire resurrection contend that the dead yet sleep in their graves, and that this resurrection shall come at one time with the sounding of the trump referred to by Paul. But where were Moses and Elias who appeared on the Mount of Transfiguration? If they were resurrected from their graves in anticipation of this last day, it shows a sin-

gular partiality in the Divine Mind to allow them to rise from their graves, and leave other prophets slumbering until the trump shall sound. Again, he who appeared to John upon the Isle of Patmos declared himself to be an angel, and not God, as John believed. If the spirits can thus be raised without their physical bodies, and appear to man, does it not appear absurd that they should require, after many hundreds of years, this physical body again, if they can leave the grave and hold converse with mortals, and have taken on the clothing of the spirit?

"But the purpose of our remarks to-night applies to a more spiritual, and we trust a more interesting, subject than this. It is concerning the actual condition of spiritual life, and the effect which material organization has specifically upon that condition hereafter. Undoubtedly modern Spiritualism has revealed the fact to all who have come within the knowledge of its philosophy, that the communion with spirits proves not only their existence, not only that they inhabit a world real and tangible, but that their condition in that world is largely determined by the knowledge, the occupation, the thoughts that are held in this life, and that the wisdom and philosophy which can give to humanity a tangible and distinct revelation concerning the effects that this life and its thoughts have upon the next will do much to destroy the ancient fear of death—that death which Paul refers to as being sin. It is undoubtedly true that the existence

of ignorance in the world concerning the elements, the primal laws of spiritual being, accounts not only for the crimes that are in existence, but for many of those weaknesses, faults, and foibles that would otherwise be removed.

"One of the most interesting inquiries concerning the future state connects itself, not only with those that are endowed with usual intelligence, gifted with the gifts of mind and the graces of the spirit, not only with those who, ordinarily good, are well qualified to enter another state of existence; but the question naturally arises, 'What becomes of those who are idiotic? those afflicted with madness? those who have moral obliquity from the hour of birth? those who commit crime seemingly for the love of crime? And what effect does idiocy, madness, moral obliquity have upon the spirit itself?' A most interesting and serious inquiry, since the perfections and imperfections of human life are all equally divided on an average; and since where an instance occurs of absolute aggressive evil or of an unaccountable malady, they form the subject of the study of the most enlightened men on the earth.

"We have said in previous discourses that the condition of the average man in the future life is in the beginning just what it is here; that you begin your new state of existence where you left off here; and you only leave behind you those tastes and appetites that are purely material, without leaving

behind any of the immediate consequences of those material tastes or appetites. Now in the case of idiocy, many persons who have believed in immortality for the most of mankind have rejected immortality for those unfortunate beings. That might be extended to madness, when the human mind possesses no control over its thoughts or actions; it might also be extended to those who have only intellect without spiritual nature; and so in the general result we should only get a small minority of beings adapted to immortal life. If intelligence is to constitute the test, then who would venture to draw the line? For the beasts termed brutes (though many men being much less intelligent are far more brutal than they) might claim, with more propriety, admission to the immortal existence than those who abuse them.

"But it is not a question of this kind. The germ of spiritual existence belongs to all human beings, or it is doubtful for all. Everything wearing the human form has either the germ of immortal life, or there is no immortality; and that condition of future life which will unravel the mysterious and painful results of the violation of law in material life will go far to prevent that violation, and make it possible that immortal souls shall exist in fitting habitations hereafter. We claim that every being wearing the human form possesses an immortal spirit, that the spiritual life animates, pervades that form, or it could not exist; that the breath of the living soul that descended

upon the first man, as recorded, descends upon every child that lives in the world, and that idiocy is only an obscuring of that intelligence from outward view, while the soul itself is immured in a prison.

"Dr. Howe, of Boston, a most distinguished physician and naturalist, says that there is as much difference between the cultivated idiot and one who is uncultivated as there is between an ordinary person of education and one who is uncultured. In the asylum for idiots established in that city, many hundreds who were supposed to have no intelligence whatever have been reclaimed from that abject state of ignorance to one of average knowledge by various processes. With some it is the intonations of music that fall upon the poor benighted intelligence in some captivating strain, and gradually they learn to read by musical sounds. With others it is a striking array of brilliant colours; and while the idiot in that direction could not learn to read the ordinary printed letter in black and white, if it is printed in yellow, or red, or green, or blue, the idiot will learn to read. This goes still further; and oftentimes sentiments of the deepest and profoundest kind, convictions, knowledge, are developed in that way, until what was supposed to be a human being lacking intelligence is made a useful member of society. You do not think deaf persons devoid of intelligence, and he that is blind is naturally the subject of your compassion. That which you term idiocy is but mental blindness—but the

defects of organization, the result probably of antenatal influences that it would be well for you to understand and avoid. Those laws are within the range of human study and human comprehension. You immure the soul in the prison-house called the body, and there is oftentimes no release from that but death. The uncultivated idiot enters the spiritual world as the babe enters this life, with no experience, no intelligence, and it becomes a question of serious import concerning human physiology and anthropology whether you will allow beings to be born into this world that will give no experience to the spirit, and allow it to be transported to spiritual existence without the experience that human life was intended to give.

"If this be true of those who are so unfortunate as to be idiots, why not also true of the hundreds of thousands of infants who are sent prematurely from this world to the next, with no hour of earthly existence, with no hour of sunshine, but hurried on like pale overblown flowers that blossom in the shade of the wall or in the cold barrenness of the cellar, with nothing of the influence and strength of earthly life to give them the thought, the aspirations, the objects of being? Mankind are guilty of all this. The murder of innocent children lies at your doors and hearthstones; and thousands go out from the slums of your cities, from the halls and palaces of pleasure, daily and hourly, who have breathed no

breath of earthly life. Idiots in spiritual existence! transported before they have taken root on earth; gathered there by scores; and unto these do the angels minister.

"You think it a great deprivation if your children in the flower, the maturity and bloom of early youth, are taken from you. But rather rejoice for those than for the young buds—the very fledglings that go out from your midst, ere they have plumed their wings for flight. Oh, you will meet them face to face in spiritual life, and they will look almost reprovingly upon you; for the experience which nature intended has been denied them, and they must ever learn in other ways than through the laws and forms of earthly life.

"Madness is in itself a disease of the mind. The madness that has once taken absolute possession of the human mind is almost invariably the result of disease, disorganization, the lack of physical knowledge. But there is no greater madness in the world than the fascination of pleasures, the allurement to crimes of that form of civilized life and that form of enlightened society that permits the souls of infants to go from earthly life ere they have tasted the experience intended by the Infinite. There is not a subject of greater import; there is nothing that you should learn more thoroughly and fully than to keep people here in earthly life, until they have achieved the experience of earthly existence. 'There are com-

pensations for this,' you say; 'they are removed from temptation and crime.' But who is strong unless he learn to overcome temptation? and who is great unless he learn to battle with the realities of life? It is true they are removed to the care of loving hands, and that spiritual existence provides for growth in knowledge and education; but there is no knowledge like experience, no knowledge equal to that which comes to every individual from the *secret race* of their souls and actual contact with the living realities of life.

"Many are sent out thus, and they blossom like pale primroses along the hedgerows of immortal life, where the gardeners of God, who are the angels, culture them carefully; but they cannot become the stately trees, nor can they reach the height of blossom of the gorgeous rose, that hath reached the full fruition of life upon earth. It is a portion of your punishment when you come to spirit-life that you meet the result of your ignorance there face to face. It is a portion of your punishment that you find there not only the results of your earthly ignorance—but all those failures, all those longings, and all those unfulfilled words and thoughts of your own natures. You find them there even like those premature buds that have failed to experience the full fruition of life; and that is a part of your future remorse. Besides that, the whole system of existence in earthly life has been heretofore intended to satisfy

present need and present necessity and convenience. That which is acceptable has taken the place of right; and men have been taught to love honesty because it is the 'best policy,' not because honesty is the best; to be good, because goodness prospers in the end, not because goodness is the divine fruit of the tree of life; to love virtue, in order to gain the esteem of your fellow-men, not because virtue is better than vice; and finally, the whole sentiment has become morbidly inactive with reference to those spiritual duties and the absolute necessity of keeping thought and mind and aspiration pure, as well as conduct and life.

"We have referred to insanity in connexion with the future life. Undoubtedly mankind are all measurably insane; that is, there is a lack of the essential power which constitutes perfect reason. You do not all go mad and slay one another. You are not dangerous maniacs in your households and among your fellow-beings; but you are liable to be unbalanced by passing emotions, by popular impulses and enthusiasm, by manias for war or greatness or ambition. So it finally comes to be a test as to whether the human reason itself is not liable to the perversion and temporary suspension that permanently fills the lunatic asylum and causes your madhouses to be peopled. Unquestionably there are hundreds of persons even in lunatic asylums no more insane than you are when angry, excited, or unbalanced.

Undoubtedly there is many a maniac that occupies a throne and makes war upon nations in a methodical way whom you would not imprison within the walls of a lunatic asylum, and yet his sole madness is to slay his fellow-man, and he is possessed of the sublime frenzy of human ambition which looks upon human life as only valuable when belonging to one. There are those within the limits and jurisdiction of asylums who have no other madness than imagining themselves to be kings and queens; and there are those deemed mad whose only failing is that they see and hold converse with beings of another world. Such madness as this would make great improvements in the world, since the presence of such a lunatic in every house would aid largely to check the present imperfections and ignorance concerning that future life.

"But supposing the mind to be really unbalanced—supposing that, while the lack of reason exists in the maniac, it generally is the result of physical imperfection, either of a slowly creeping disease that has its seat in the vital centres, or of some organic difficulty, the result of hereditary taint; in which case it is physical; in which case the release comes when the spirit is disenthralled; in which case the person is irresponsible in the moral sense; and in which case there must be an awakening in spiritual life that will reveal some of the difficulties surrounding earthly existence.

"For much of this insanity the existing order of society is responsible; since subjects often agitate the minds of persons that are forbidden to be discussed, and when burdened with pent-up thoughts the mind will inevitably become unbalanced. The man so imprisoned may have broken down by the weight of a single thought, which, if expressed, would have relieved the mind from that natural tension and strife. Be careful how you suppress intense thought upon any subject. Be careful how you ask its suppression in others. Be careful as mothers and friends to guard the thought that presses down the sensitive daughter or friend. Be sure you study this infirmity, and become as alarmed as you would for any physical symptoms. The diseases of the mind are oftentimes more prevalent than those of the body; and the subtle influence of the thought that cannot find expression is oftentimes far more dangerous than the suppression of circulation, or any undue quantity of oxygen taken into the system. Be sure you study these as a portion of your lives, and that you make free outlets and avenues for the expression of anxious thoughts, that you allow in your children the expression of ideas, even if they are not compatible with your usual teachings; and above all that you do not suppress those intuitions and tendings to spiritual expression. They have much to do with the existing stages of insanity in the world; for persons endued with sensitive, impressionable natures are in another

atmosphere than that which ordinary people breathe, have different thoughts and are acted upon by different extraordinary intelligence; and if that expression is forbidden, if they may not tell the vision they see; if they have to repress, lest they come in contact with some preconceived notion or opinion; if forbidden to teach of the grounds that relate to the spiritual nature and futurity—then insanity is the result, and the untoward effect is realized instead of that which is beneficent and true and good.

"Many persons that in childhood are surrounded by angels, and imagine (as you term it) themselves watched over by guardian spirits, in middle life become tormented by demons, because the good spirits have been forced away—because you have forbidden them to enter, and told the child not to believe, but only to think it imagination. That imagination turned recoils upon itself, and the doorway that was open is shut, the benign influences have been replaced by unkind ones, and the angels that have been sent away have given place to spirits who are undeveloped, and the victim is sent to the madhouse. Be sure also in studying these things that you take into consideration the fact, the sublime fact, that this life is the seed-ground, the time for sowing and planting the spiritual truths, for the reception of spiritual ideas. Be sure that you consider well that that which belongs to your highest interests and to your loftiest thoughts in future life is that which you should

cultivate and study most here, not only because it brings here most happiness, but because it is absolutely the only enduring thing, those matters that pertain exclusively to the body, serving simply as experience; that those things that pertain exclusively to the body serve only as the means whereby the spirit has to gain knowledge of material laws; while that which is abiding, permanent, is the spiritual nature itself—the soul of man—the spirit that anon shall put on the spiritual body and wear the garment of incorruption.

"You have places well-nigh innumerable established for all kinds of physical maladies, and even idiocy and madness have received the kindest care of *materia medica;* but the more searching physician is needed in the soul—he that understands the spiritual nature and that can unite with the healing of the body the healing also of the mind; he that can minister not only to the disease of the body, but that knows the remedy for the spiritual disease. Find such an one, and you have found out the one that will disenthral the world. A principle may do it—it is not a person. Knowledge may do it—it is not an individual. Make known to humanity the results of certain pernicious forms of life and certain fictitious practices; make known the results of violation upon the hereafter, and you supply the healing balm. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred no man will voluntarily plunge into the fire: make it for human knowledge and human

happiness that the results of earthly existence and the conditions of future life depend upon certain known laws and principles that are just as easily followed, and just as natural as the laws of life, and you go very far to disenthral the world from every sin. Because from the knowledge of that sin and its causes comes freedom from ignorance in the same way; and as ignorance is the parent of sin, it comes to be a fact in the world that you have only to present the truths that belong to the spiritual nature, and you have a panacea for the ills of spiritual life and material life.

"He who understands fully the laws of physical life, protects himself from cold, will not voluntarily breathe poisoned air, will not enter a place where he is liable to misfortune; and, understanding, guards well his body, and sees to it that no untoward diversion comes in. Show man spiritually that these are just as distinct and decisive laws; let it be known that these laws by being understood, aid in strengthening and developing the soul, and that whatsoever you do in violation of these laws renders the spiritual nature weak, and makes the spiritual nature absolutely unimportant, and you do much to disenthral the world. Then it becomes also true that the expression of these truths in the world and their dispersion in society constitutes the saving grace of man; for that which does not apply to man's practical life is not really a thing of any value to human society. The golden rule is set high, engraven upon all the arches of your

sacred temples, set in a shrine snowy and white, and in the secret altars of your souls you believe in it implicitly; but when it comes to daily life, and to the application of it in your actions, then you hesitate and falter, and the average man and woman yield on the side of selfishness—the average man and woman fail to meet this high and exalted ideal. Whatever shall bring that ideal within your grasp, that shall make you know not only that the golden rule is right proverbially, but right practically. Think of this every hour when you hesitate between one act and another; that will save you. You are in doubt about a course of conduct, yet you know perfectly well the moral law and the commandment that applies to that action. But you feel yourselves specially extenuated; you draw for yourselves a fine line of demarcation; you make metaphysical exceptions in your own favour, and expect to escape the consequences, merely because you know what is right; but that is the chief reason why you will not be exempt; it is just the reason why, with all your struggling, you do not attain that high expression.

"If the golden rule is applicable for any man, at any time, upon any given occasion, it is to all men, at all times, and upon all occasions. If it be true you must abide by it; there is no exception to that rule; no business justifies it, no commerce with nations, no laws, and no society. If it be true also that you know each of those sophisms that you weave to protect your

self-respect and your individuality as sophisms, and that when you stand face to face with your own spirit you know it to be so, the cobwebs, the flimsy excuses that are woven by society, whereby you adorn your outward understanding and make yourselves believe that you do the best under the circumstances—these fall in fragments to your feet, and you see the pitiable excuses in their naked barrenness, that you stand face to face with your own ignorance, and that the soul itself must reap the consequences.

"You would consider that man most foolish who, in defiance of a cough and certain symptoms of consumption, exposes himself to the night air, going out unprotected, and adding little by little to this disease until it undermines his health and destroys his existence. So in spiritual matters, it becomes a very easy matter to extend a line of demarcation, and say, This little here and that little there will answer. The only absolute way is that the spirit shall be protected by final and ultimate laws, and that those laws shall be fearlessly, constantly, unequivocally followed without regard to the consequences. These laws are so clear and so distinct, so well defined, and so well known in the world, that no man ever need hesitate. The right and the wrong—the doing of an act, from the kindness that you bestow on the beggar by the wayside to those subtle, moral, and intellectual speculations wherein you consider your brother man and humanity—are all as clearly and well defined as the

problems of Euclid, or as the system of mathematics. Make this known, let it be certain that every spirit suffers correspondingly to the neglect of duty, and rejoices and is glad correspondingly to the fulfilment of duty, and you have the solution of the whole moral problems of the world.

"The pursuit of happiness—the actual individual need of man—the desire to attain the greatest and loftiest good, these come within the range of every one; and it comes to be a fact that these selfish wants and needs, these narrow pursuits, those individual problems of happiness, melt and fade before the grand systems of spiritual happiness, that cause a man to withdraw from all yielding to mere external that he may in reality build up the spiritual.

"As we have stated, you enter spirit-life with all these imperfections and all these deformities upon you, and it becomes a question for mankind to have a perfect immortal existence instead of the physical temporal life that belongs to the material. You educate your young men to be statesmen, politicians, physicians, or clergymen. The average young man is not educated to any of these; but he must be a useful member to society. The nearer society cultivates these young men into exactly the resemblance of one another the better is society pleased. There are masses of minds ground through the same mill of classical education, and *belles lettres*, and legal argument. They come out precisely in the same mould,

and the world feels that it is infinitely better when these highest types of legal, medical, theological, and literary gentlemen are in the world. Your daughters are all educated in the same mould; society requires certain forms of expression from them—they give them in obedience to society. The schools are founded upon this principle, and the nearer they resemble one another the better society is pleased.

"Your gardener, while cultivating similitudes in the types of daisies and roses, nevertheless encourages variety, and you consider that horticulturist the most successful who produces the highest individual types of each form of plant. That society will be the best, and that spiritual culture and material culture the finest, that shall make room in the world for the highest cultivation of each individual gift; not that there shall be so many good citizens merely, but that each citizen shall be an individual; not that there shall be so many good lawyers, and that each one shall possess his particular gift and qualification, and be the highest type of his kind; but that those individual attributes that make up the individual soul shall be allowed room to grow, and not that each individual shall be forced into the mould of artificial life. In spiritual life these all change. The similitudes that exist in societies of spirits are natural similitudes, because of some common grand attraction. But the highest attention is given to the individual growth of every individual soul. You are not received into spiritual

existence as so many lawyers, doctors, and theologians; but you are each received as individuals, with the merit of immortal life peculiarly and distinctly your own, and with the advantage that eternity is large enough to allow of the culture of every individual quality that requires culture in spirit-life.

"Repression is the difficulty in mortal education; with spirits it is expression. Subjecting the intellect to the authority and dictates of another mind is the rule here; allowing that intellect the fullest growth is the rule in spirit. Making every child of earth a prototype of some other child is your practice; allowing every child of the spirit to become distinctly and absolutely itself, each working out that special individual experience and that special brightness that belongs to its ideal and individual being, is the practice with us. 'One star differeth from another in glory,' says Paul; every star has its appointed place, and every spirit is just as important in the spiritual firmament as every other one. The lowest of those whom you despise on earth is gathered into the gardens of Paradise and is one of the chiefest; the least of those souls that, almost without a murmur, go out from your midst, is endowed with some special individual attribute and quality; and those of you who imagine yourselves in the humblest position in life, and who are accustomed to look upon the great and wise and good as your superiors, you each have also as great a possession as the greatest. Among those

whose names are enrolled upon the pages of history, and who have traced their work's record in shining deeds for their fellow-men; among those that have been the leaders of nations and societies, who have given to humanity some precious gift, and have adorned the world with the fruits of their genius; among those shining stars that rise above the horizon in human life, and seem to shape the destiny of nations by their calmness and grandeur—every human being is destined to occupy a place. Not one but is possessed of equal grandeur; not one but is endowed with as splendid attributes; not one but shall rise and shine even as the greatest have done. And those we have referred to, most unfortunate of earthly beings, whom you are accustomed to look upon with the greatest compassion, and for whom, perhaps, your pitying prayers and external professions avail little—these also are counted in the unnumbered hosts of spiritual beings as equal to the others; and these constitute some of the shining ones whose spiritual life shall be traced even as the stars are in their courses, even as the worlds are that decorate space.

"Chiefly let us remind you again of those little ones of whom Christ said, 'Of such is the kingdom of heaven.' Bear in mind that the earth is the nursery of souls; bear in mind that those souls that have not gained knowledge, and reaped the results of earthly experience, must go out and gain that knowledge under other conditions than those nature has provided.

See to it, that they go not to untimely graves; see to it, that they are not hurried and transplanted too soon to the bowers of eternal life; see to it, that those important laws of nature that become divine when they concern the welfare of the human spirit are no longer evaded; see to it, that you shape your lives, and become possessed of this knowledge, that the earth itself shall be a paradise, and that you here behold all the conditions of spiritual life."

Perhaps, however, some of the earlier discourses are more illustrative of the impromptu character of Mrs. Tappan's speaking. From these I select the one bearing the title:—

What Great Teacher has produced the most Potent Effect upon Society, and Why?

This Oration was delivered in St. George's Hall, on Sunday evening, September 28th, 1873. Before Mrs. Tappan entered the hall, the Chairman, Mr. Thomas Slater, the gentleman mentioned above, stated that, agreeably to announcement, she would speak on a subject selected by the audience, and that a committee should be chosen for that purpose. Drs. Sexton and Clark (Spiritualists) and Messrs. Watt, Goalen, and Cooper (non-Spiritualists) were accordingly duly elected to prepare a subject on which Mrs. Tappan should speak. During the early part of the service the committee retired and, on returning, Dr. Sexton announced that the question proposed by a

non-Spiritualist and decided upon was that given on the previous page. A hymn having been sung, Mrs. Tappan proceeded with her address, having previously delivered the following characteristic

INVOCATION.

"Our Father, which art in heaven, infinite Spirit of love and of life, thou divine and supreme source of all intelligence, we praise Thee. Thy children would lay upon the altar of thy love their offerings of devotion. Some come to Thee laden with worldly cares, bowed down and oppressed with the manifold tumults of outward life. O, let them turn within and behold that, howsoever vast may be thy material workings, thy Spirit is infinite, and the treasures of knowledge are vast and boundless! Some may come to Thee laden with sorrow, mourning for the dead, and seeing no light above the tomb. O, above the grave, beyond the pall, may they behold the brightening glory of immortal life! may they see their loved ones in light and beauty around! Some come laden with joy, and these lay their offerings upon thy shrine, as doth the sun lay his full rich offerings upon the shrine of the morning, shedding radiance within upon the spiritual loveliness that gives light and kindles a flame of living beauty. But, whatsoever offerings thy children bring, Thou, infinite Spirit, wilt receive them. Thou alone dost understand the secrets of the human heart; Thou alone hast provided for its needs; and thy soul is in

our midst, even though the clouds of materialism hide thy wondrous face. O living Love! O surpassing Spirit, glorious and full of all loveliness! let our words be of truth; let our minds be awakened to understand; let our spirits strive to know Thee, and then we shall have all knowledge. To thy name, O loving Father, will thy children for ever sing praise; and unto Thee must we for ever bring all our offerings of love."

Discourse.

"What Great Teacher has produced the most Potent Effect upon Society, and Why?"

"We believe we state the subject correctly. Undoubtedly your committee do not expect us to go back into those ages of human history the records of which are lost, since existing society cannot be affected by those periods of civilization that are either wholly obscured in darkness, or have only just emerged from their obscurity through the investigating hand of modern science. Past ages, of which we know nothing except through the investigations of modern scientists, cannot have had much influence on the present condition of human society. But in what consists human society? It is customary to believe among Christian nations so-called that the enlightened portion of the earth's surface—that is, the most civilized of the nations of the earth—consists of those that have adopted and believe in what is

termed the Christian religion. A large proportion of the earth's inhabitants do not accept, have not adopted, and are entirely ignorant of the enlightenment and civilization accompanying Christianity.

"The first influence, or the most remote influence of which history gives us any account, is the civilization that existed amongst the ancient Egyptians, although the Chinese claim still greater antiquity. But we must determine that the highest point of civilization in ancient times was reached among the Egyptians. Their worship, however, differed essentially from that of the modern worshipper. The veiled Osiris—the mysterious god, who had no external representation, but who was hidden behind his works—we may presume, represented the spirit of the universe, or creation. Isis, the mother Earth, was supposed to be the revelation of deity, or the immediate intercessor between Osiris and his children. The Egyptians, however, were not satisfied with this simple form of worship, but framed images of created things and established ceremonials. Amongst their various objects of worship was Apis, or the sacred ox. Then there was the worship of the bird Ibis, and of other beasts and reptiles, all of which were supposed to represent deity. The serpent amongst the Egyptians symbolized wisdom; not, as amongst you, evil. And every form in nature which the Egyptians worshipped was supposed to contain some element of deity. But the whole of this system of

religion has been lost to the world, owing to the destruction of the Alexandrian library. The more subtle element of it, however, had already been lost—namely, the spiritual meaning of these forms; for, of a certainty, no nation ever possessed a form of religion that did not originate in some spiritual inspiration in the beginning, and however material the commencement, the first inception of their worship was from the Divine mind. Among the nations of the East, embracing India and China, of all the forms of worship—excepting the Mahomedan, which has latterly extended widely over the Eastern world—the most prominent are the Brahmin and the Buddhist. The Brahmin is an ideal worship. Its ideas of divinity are inverse from the senses. All forms of speculative spiritual theories, every abstract thought of divinity, rests with the Brahmin. He has no sympathy with the senses, although his system has its expressions; he dwells in the realm of transcendentalism. Brahma is concealed and veiled, but is represented by the three great powers or principles of nature. These principles are the Past, the Present, and the Future—the Creator, the Preserver, and the Destroyer of the universe. In these guises or forms sometimes he worships the past, sometimes bows in homage to the present, and sometimes wanders far into the regions of the future. The Buddhist, on the contrary, believes in an outward expression of divinity, wherein God, at certain and

stated periods of time, manifests himself through Buddha, comes to the earth, and teaches the children of men. Buddhas have been numerous, and the last was about 200 or 300 years before the Christian era. This Buddha is supposed to come, at certain stated intervals, as the representative of the Divine mind.

"In the teachings of Buddha great prominence is given to the external forms of worship and practical charity and kindliness to our fellow-men. The Buddhist, contrary to the Brahmin, believes in the practical expression of religion, that human life should be governed by it, and that it should form its diviner part. We have the worshippers in the far East of various material elements, such as fire, air, and water; and, indeed, the Persian fire-worshippers form no small part of the wonderful systems of religion which hold sway in the world. The Indians, as you know, have their bibles, such as their Vedas and other sacred books. Zoroaster developed the principles of the religion of the ancient Persians in the Zend-Avesta, and many of its teachings compare favourably with those of more recent books, and in fact are the origin of the teachings of more modern religions. Among the Chinese the sacred books consist of the writings of Confucius. He represents the more modern and more concentrated thought of their ancient religions. The teachings of Confucius embrace the inspiration, and were the reproduction of the philosophy of ancient times, when the seers and prophets were truly inspired;

he represents the embodiment and handing down to posterity of the inspirations of all previous ages. Thus there have been at all times, outside the realm of inspiration of ancient days, certain leading minds which almost take the position of seers and prophets. The works of Confucius exhibit so perfect a code of spiritual ethics, as to constitute it one of the systems of the present day; and yet they are but the embodiment of the thoughts of the most inspired minds of his and previous times. For remember, all inspired works of Deity are not comprised in the so-called bibles of nations; and there have been prophets and sages reared up outside of established churches, and their inspirations have ever redounded to the benefit of humanity. The religion and theology of all nations represent the highest thought of their inspired writers united. Unquestionably the Bible of the Hebrew nation, said to be the progenitor of the Christian religion, is the embodiment or compendium of the writings of the Hebrew prophets and seers. But there have been superior minds, as we have said, like Socrates, Confucius, and Aristotle, who have concentrated and embodied the teachings of inspired men; and these concentrations, afterwards disentombed, have been found to bear the most searching light and criticism of inspired thought. The Hebrews were especially an inspired race. Hence we know they held their first communings with the Spirit of Jehovah—Je-ho-vah meaning Spirit of the Past, the

Present, and the Future—the one God, than whom there was no other, and before whom all other gods must bow. This was in contradistinction to the many gods of the other Eastern nations, while the Hebraic nation in their original simplicity believed but in the one Divine Godhead. Their seers and prophets looked forward to a time on the earth when Jehovah should manifest himself in person, and come to rule on the earth as their king. Consequently all the songs of praise, the prophecies, and inspirations of the Old Testament deplored the materialism of the age in which the writers lived, and looked forward to the great day when the very Spirit of God should dwell in the midst of the nations of the earth. This Hebrew nation, however, was rather exclusive; and if Deity had never spoken to the earth before, nor in any other manner, he surely has not spoken according to the Hebrews since; for, although they expected a Messiah, and looked forward to his coming, when at last it was supposed he had come, the Hebrews would not accept him, and they are yet waiting for their king who shall restore them to the New Jerusalem; and so firm is this conviction that they have preserved their temples and their ancient customs, and around their shrines gather only the children of the downcast nation of Israel. Spread abroad throughout the countries of the earth, they are building up material prosperity, awaiting their Saviour who is yet to come, as they contend.

"Meanwhile there came a voice in the East, simple like that of a child. There dawned a star, there beamed a day, and the wise men saw that the Christ they had so long expected had come. Now it does not matter, in our opinion, whether, as the infidel believes, this birth of Jesus is a tradition, or whether, as the Christian believes, it is a reality; the influence of that supposed birth upon the world is precisely the same—and whether you take it from the standpoint of the secularist or the standpoint of the religionist, it does not matter. The point we have to consider is, what effect this theory has had upon the world. Born in obscurity, raised in humbleness, and at last promulgated throughout the most advanced and civilized nations of the earth!—what effect has this had upon humanity? The religions of preceding ages—all religions antecedent to this of Jesus—accepted and believed in material worship. Temples were built, places were set apart, symbols of the Godhead were formed, and every religion became an idolatry on the face of the earth. The Spirit of God departed from the Egyptian, from the Brahmin, from the Buddhist, from the Persian form of worship, because they came to construct idols of wood and stone, and to build magnificent temples wherein no spirit could be found. Even the Hebrews because of their materialism were banished from their sacred Jerusalem, and their gorgeous temple was overthrown because they would not listen to the voice of the

Spirit. Christ's lesson from first to last, then and now, whether in the words recorded, or in the influences left upon his immediate disciples, was this: Past religions have believed that there were intermediate gods, and that the Most High God was entirely out of the reach of mortals. Christ taught that between the human soul and the Father there is no intercessor but love; and the divinest feature of his teaching was that it left the individual in the hands of deity, instead of in the hands of an outside god who might or might not listen to prayer. More than this, instead of offerings of bloodshed and burnt-offerings and sacrifices, he taught that the only offerings were those of the human spirit, that the only sacrifice was the sacrifice of the senses, and that to the spiritually-minded there is no need of an intercessor, for God is there and will listen. Could anything be more at variance with the materialism of the past than this? Could anything be more surprising to the existing forms of worship then upon the earth than this simple teacher, without retinue, without shrine or altar or priests, rising up in the midst of his fellow-people and declaring that God is not in any shrine or temple, but in the human heart alone? It was the advent of the Spirit as against matter, of the spiritual nature of man as against the material nature, the advent of the true form of worship as against idolatry; and, whatsoever man may have done in the name of Christianity and religion, the teachings of

Christ remain the same—clear, transparent, everlasting protests against all outward forms and ceremonies that are not born of the living spirit of inspiration. Christ's life and example represent the possibility of man as a teacher, as an elder brother. Why, the Roman Catholic Church even claims that he represents that to which all may become heirs by their spiritual gifts; and this may be said of the Roman Catholic Church, in spite of its idolatry, temples, and ceremonials, that it invariably preserves the spiritual gifts wherever they are authenticated, and places them upon the records of the Church as instances that the spirit is still alive, however much the matter that surrounds them may kill the spirit. But it is recorded that Christ taught that those who believed should perform even greater things than he had done. He gave his disciples the gifts of the Spirit—the gift of tongues, of prophecy, of the interpretation of tongues, and of healing. All these gifts he gave, and his disciples became possessed of them. May we ask where they are now? And do the believing possess the Spirit as they ought? Christ's teachings were those of lovingkindness and direct and perfect charity, that casts out all complaining and bitterness, and brings humanity closer and closer to the Father in the bonds of love.

"We do not criticise the Christian world to-day; we do not criticise the warfare, the bloodshed, and crimes that are incident to humanity. In spite of

these the truth is abroad, and notwithstanding these the spirit of Christ is struggling in your midst to-day. It has been said that Christianity has been the cause of more bloodshed than all other religions put together. What can you say of Mahomedanism, that, with the sword in the one hand and the Koran in the other, devastates the whole of the empires of the East? Knocking at the doors of established customs and of ancient religions, it demanded instant acceptance or death. Mahomedanism had some inception of religion, but when its promulgation is accompanied by devastation and ruin, we can have no word for it but condemnation. But these nations have sunk into degradation, while the ancient religions have been quenched. It is true war has followed in the wake of Christianity; but it is not true that this is attributable to the spirit of Christianity. If men make war upon their fellow-men, shall we blame that religion which advocates love and human-kindness? Rather say that it is the undeveloped state of mankind; that, notwithstanding this light, human selfishness, cupidity, and ignorance seek to make a cloak and shield of religion to slay mankind. Shall we say that it is Christianity that has brought about all the revolutions of the last eighteen hundred years? War was known before. Cupidity and ignorance prevail; and if under the guise of religion man slays his brother, it is not because of religion, but in spite of it that he does so. Christ's teachings in their simplicity

would lead only to peace. Christ's Sermon on the Mount, whatever sermons may be spoken or written, will never be transcended; it remains the one shining utterance on the page of all history that reconciles man to the Infinite. Christ's commandment—'A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another'—transcends the whole of the Mosaic law, since it brings humanity into close brotherhood, and makes them one with the Father. Christ's prayer to the Deity, recognising the Father, 'our Father,' makes every child of the earth one with the Infinite, and establishes the bond between humanity and God. Immortality, that was before a vague hope, an uncertain speculation that had no share and part in the ancient religions, except in some form of transmigration, re-incarnation, or some other method, was made clear and plain; and instead of mysticism and fable, it was brought to the understanding of every one. 'In my Father's house are many mansions; I go to prepare a place for you,' says Jesus to His loving followers. What more could you have of the future state?

"Then, when predicting his final change, he saw the glory of the life which should eventually follow; and when he said he should come again, it was literally fulfilled in his presenting himself to his disciples; and when he said, "If I go away, I will send you a comforter, even the Spirit of Truth,' has it not been proven that all who seek find it? We say nothing as

to the different interpretations of Christ's teachings; we say nothing of the various creeds and theologies that have been built upon them, though all have their uses; we make no war with them even though they war with one another; but we say that if the foundation of the Christian religion be Christ's teaching, and the foundation of Christian society Christ's example, the world can never possess a higher standard; for it is better, if we fall short of the mark, aiming high, than if we only aim at the rocks beneath our feet. The golden rule should be inscribed on every altar and shrine, so that every one who strives therefor may have the consciousness of striving; and Jesus taught that those who strive, even though they fail, have some of the rewards of the spirit of God's love. We know that there is a very strong argument against the originality of Christ's teachings, and that materialists and infidels have searched history and found a parallel between the teachings of Christianity and those of other religions; that there was something similar in the writings of Confucius, and that other teachers taught the golden rule—but Christ was the first teacher who embodied his teachings in the loving works of his life and hands—Christ was the first teacher to awaken the consciousness that spirit is superior to matter, and that the soul transcends the casket in which God has placed it.

"And we know of nothing better to-day than in the fulness of the human understanding to know that

these lessons, however perverted and abused among men, form the chief aim and inspiration of the loftiest minds in human society. Even when they do not know it, and when materialism enthralls the senses, the unconscious leaning is towards that high standard of moral excellence and spiritual worship; and though they are humble in thought, they shun the more external forms of creed and ceremonial, and seek this true and living spirit within it. The greatest thought of the Christian world is for the peace and advancement of humanity. Whatever kings may do, or selfish demagogues may demand, we know that Church and State are alike united with the greatest and highest powers of the earth to bring about 'peace on earth and goodwill to men;' that the British nation as a government has set its face towards the 'golden rule,' in striving towards that arbitrament that shall cause the sword to be set aside and the understanding of humanity to be used in its stead. When such a thought is in the minds of your rulers, we certainly do not despair; and when the greatest minds, moved by the impetus of human fellowship and love, look kindly and joyously towards the era when goodwill shall prevail, and when the nations of the earth shall be gathered together beneath the eye of God, and when human governments shall try the mild sway of the Christian, we cannot condemn, but on the contrary say that spirit is abroad in all the lands; that it forms the basis and foundation upon which the

superstructure of human society is built; that the spirit will kill the letter as the letter has sometimes killed the spirit, is unquestionably true; and that in an age not far distant, without the eye of prophecy, the religionist and statesman can say there will be an entire end of wars and bloodshed and governments of force, and that the supreme law of all the land will be this law of peace. No other teaching could have wrought this work. It matters not, as we say, whether it be a clever creation of the early teachers of the Christian Church, or whether, as we believe, Christ was indeed an inspired teacher. It matters not: the influence upon society is still the same, and the great culmination of moral and spiritual thought was in the birth and life and teachings of Jesus of Nazareth."

Having finished her discourse, the lecturess offered to answer any question by the committee bearing upon the subject treated. Mr. Cooper rose, and, in the name of the committee, thanked Mrs. Tappan for her eloquent address, and said he only spoke the sentiments of all when he said they had all been delighted with what they had heard. He only wished such a sermon might be heard every Sunday in all the churches of the metropolis. Mrs. Tappan then offering to answer any question put to her by the audience, a gentleman asked, "Do you regard Christ as really God, or merely as a human teacher?"

To which the lecturess answered, "We were not asked for our theological views; we were only requested to state what great teacher had had the greatest influence on human society." Another gentleman considered the speaker had not fully answered the question embodied in the subject of the discourse. She had shown that Christ had had the greatest influence on human society, but had not pointed out why. He should have expected, and no doubt the gentleman who had asked the last question had expected, the answer—Because he was God. Mrs. Tappan replied that "For ourselves, we believe that all truth is of God, and Christ embodied in his form as much of deity as the truth he expressed; that he was the Son of God, and that he represented the possible of man, inasmuch as he promised the same gifts to others that he himself possessed. But we certainly decline entering into any discussion upon the creed of the Trinitarian or Unitarian, or any form of theological controversy. Christ's words when he says: 'I and my Father are one,' did not mean he was God; if he and his Father were one, it simply signified they were one in spirit; and the promise given to earth's children, the same as to Christ, is, that Christ could not have been a greater embodiment of deity than the divine and perfect humanity he represented." Another gentleman having understood the speaker to eulogize the connexion of Church and State, the answer was

given: "We do not eulogize the connexion of Church and State unless the Church and State are so reformed as to have neither Church nor State." And to a further remark: "We believe all churches and religions should have free action in every land beneath the sun." A gentleman in the gallery, while speaking in high terms of the discourse as a whole, questioned the speaker's conclusions with reference to Buddhism. If she meant that Christ's teaching had exercised the greatest influence on Christian society, then he granted she was right; but if she meant human society, or the human race as a whole, then he begged to differ with her, for there were from three to four hundred millions of the human race who were believers in Buddhism, while only a small minority were Christians. Then again, he believed the speaker had been wrong in her estimate of Buddhism, in representing its central doctrine as the periodical incarnation of deity; the researches of modern science had led men to doubt very much whether the whole system was not an atheism. In her reply, Mrs. Tappan said that numbers were no criterion of excellence; it had been indicated that the Christian portion of the world was in a minority, yet in human society the Christian portion represented the most advanced state of modern civilization. It had been said that human society might fairly be called that portion of the human race which was in the most advanced state of enlightenment, and that

portion was represented by the Christian nations. With reference to the second point, they must be allowed to have their opinion. They did not claim infallibility, and were open to conviction; they had been asked to give their opinion, and had given it.

The following particulars, too, relative to the spread of the belief, are extracted from one of the most widely circulated of its tracts:—

"Another fact, comparatively unknown, is that an important literature of the subject exists. For many years the subject has received the attention of able and courageous men, and many valuable works have appeared in relation to it. We may name the following:—'The Two Worlds: the Natural and the Spiritual; their Intimate Connexion and Relation, illustrated by Examples and Testimonies, Ancient and Modern;' by Thomas Brevior. 'The History of the Supernatural in all Ages and Nations;' by William Howitt; 2 vols. 'Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World; with Narrative Illustrations;' by Robert Dale Owen. 'Planchette; or, the Despair of Science;' by Epes Sargent. 'Modern American Spiritualism: a Twenty Years' Record of the Communion between Earth and the World of Spirits;' by Emma Hardinge. 'The Debatable Land;' by Robert Dale Owen. 'Outlines of Ten Years' Investigation of Spiritualism;' by T. P. Barkas. 'Hints for the Evidences of Spiritualism;' by M.P. 'Spiritualism: a Narrative, with a Discussion;' by Patrick B. Alex-

ander, M.A., Edinburgh, Author of 'Mill and Carlyle,' &c. 'Experimental Investigations of Psychic Force;' by William Crookes, F.R.S., &c. 'The Report of the London Dialectical Society's Committee on Spiritualism.' 'Concerning Spiritualism;' by Gerald Massey. 'Nature's Secrets; or, Psychometric Researches;' by William Denton. 'Glimpses of the Supernatural;' by Adin Ballou. 'Spiritual Experiences;' by Robert Cooper. 'The Night Side of Nature;' by Mrs. Crowe. 'Spiritualism: its Facts and Phases; Illustrated with Personal Experiences;' by J. H. Powell. 'The Confessions of a Truth-seeker: a Narrative of Personal Investigations into the Facts and Philosophy of Spirit-Intercourse.' 'Scepticism and Spiritualism: the Experiences of a Sceptic;' by the Authoress of 'Aurelia.' 'Is it True? Intercommunication between the Living and the (so-called) Dead;' by a Working Man. 'Plain Guide to Spiritualism;' by Uriah Clark. 'Notes and Studies on the Philosophy of Animal Magnetism and Spiritualism;' by Dr. Ashburner. 'From Matter to Spirit: the Result of Ten Years' Experience in Manifestations;' by Mrs. De Morgan. 'The Magic Staff;' by A. J. Davis. 'Spiritualism;' by Judge Edmonds and Dr. Dexter. 'Supramundane Facts in the Life of Dr. Ferguson;' edited by Dr. T. L. Nichols. 'Experimental Investigations of the Spirit-Manifestations;' by Professor Hare. 'Incidents in my Life;' by D. D. Home. 'Spirit-Drawings;' by W. M. Wil-

kinson. 'The Scientific Aspect of the Supernatural;' by A. R. Wallace, F.Z.S. 'The Arcana of Spiritualism;' by Hudson Tuttle. Many of these works have had a great circulation, several of the volumes of A. J. Davis, the celebrated clairvoyant, attaining from ten to forty editions respectively.

"At the present time, in addition to these volumes, the periodical literature on the subject indicates a widespread interest in it. In the United States, the *Banner of Light* (Boston), a weekly paper, has been established for upwards of a dozen years, and enjoys a very large circulation. *The Religio-Philosophical Journal* (Chicago) is also a weekly paper, established some years ago, having an extensive circulation. *Britain's Journal of Spiritual Science* is a high-class quarterly, emanating from New York. In England we have the *Spiritual Magazine, Human Nature,* the *Christian Spiritualist* (monthly), the *Spiritualist* (bi-monthly), and the *Medium* (weekly). In the following countries Spiritualism is represented by forty-seven periodicals:—France, 3; Belgium, 3; Holland, 2; Denmark, 1; Russia, 1; Germany, 1; Austria, 3; Bohemia, 1; Spain, 15; Italy, 6; Greece, 1; Egypt, 1; Turkey; 1; Brazil, 2; Uruguay, 1; La Plata, 2; Peru, 1; Chili, 1; Mexico, 1. There was also one, until lately, in the Republic of Ecuador, but it has just been suppressed through the influence of the priests, as was also the case in Sicily. In all countries Spiritualism is regarded as the bulwark of religious

freedom, spiritual enlightenment, and a higher morality; and hence it is equally opposed by the upholders of priestly dominion and those who are immersed in worldly pleasures and occupations.

"In the Australian colonies and in South Africa this work has taken deep root, though in the latter colonies no periodicals exist. In Melbourne the *Harbinger of Light* is published monthly, and a powerful local association exists. The *Echo* of Dunedin, New Zealand, advocates Spiritualism, and several other papers admit of its free discussion. Spiritualism is also making steady progress in India and the colonial possessions of various European countries.

"It is a notable fact, too, that many well-known men and women, with a good repute for learning, science, and sense, have been and are among the number of those who at least accept the 'facts,' whatever they make of them. We may name as 'believers'—the late President Lincoln; W. Lloyd Garrison; the poet Longfellow; Mrs. H. B. Stowe; Bayard Taylor; the late Dr. Kane, Arctic explorer; the late Rev. J. Pierpoint; Lord Lindsay; the late Lord Dunraven; Lord Adare; C. F. Varley, F.R.S.; the late Dr. Robert Chambers; Dr. Gully; Dr. J. G. Wilkinson; Dr. Ashburner; the late Dr. Elliotson; the late Professor De Morgan; H. G. Atkinson, F.G.S.; William and Mary Howitt; Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall; Gerald Massey; Dr. Sexton; the late W. M. Thackeray; the late Elizabeth Barrett Brown-

ing; Serjeant Cox; W. Crookes, F.R.S.; A. R. Wallace, F.Z.S., &c. &c.

"Amongst crowned heads Spiritualism has made many conquests. The late Prince Consort was deeply interested in clairvoyance. Mr. Home, the well-known medium, has visited the palace; and several members of the Royal Family are investigators. Mr. Home has also been a visitor at the Courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Paris."

MODERN MYSTICISM.

Closely connected with Modern Spiritualism—indeed so closely that some of us fail to detect the frontier line that separates the two—is the creed of Swedenborgianism. It is, I am aware, only by almost straining the somewhat elastic signification of my title that I am able to include the doctrines of the New Jerusalem Church in a work on "Heterodox London," and do it under protest, and simply for the sake of illustrating the larger subject; for—I do not say it offensively—Swedenborgianism certainly stands related to Spiritualism as the species to the genus. Swedenborgianism is the specific revelation of one particular seer, Emanuel Swedenborg, whom Emerson, in his "Representative Men," sets down as the Mystic *par excellence*, and whose utterances the more orthodox of the New Jerusalem Church deem final. They acknowledge the spiritual nature of the phenomena of Modern Spiritualism, but question their character. This point I have already elaborated with some care; and all I purpose to do in the present work is to describe very briefly the typical place of worship where these doctrines were represented at the period of writing my present work, and to add one or two of

the most recent utterances from its chief exponent in London; more by way of pendant to what I have said above on the generic subject of Spiritualism than as going over again ground which I feel has been sufficiently covered already.

If we accept the impersonation of Emerson, above-mentioned, the New Jerusalem Church is the shrine and focus of modern mysticism. Under such an aspect, and not without reference to the present rather prominent claims of occult science to be heard in our midst, I determined to pay a visit one Sunday morning to the handsome chapel in the Mall, Kensington, formerly occupied by Mr. Offord, and recently handed over to Dr. Bayley, who removed thither from the New Jerusalem Church, in Argyle Square, King's Cross.

The Mall Chapel is a handsome and commodious building, and its fittings rich in the extreme. A finely draped altar bore, as is the custom in Swedenborgian places of worship, an open Bible, and was adorned with an exceedingly rich frontal, with the sacred monogram bordered with lilies of exquisite workmanship. Two pulpits stood within the chancel rails flanking the altar; and in one of these a young and—will he permit me to say it?—handsome man was reading the service. The other was occupied by Dr. Bayley himself, who took a large share of the prayers too. Each was habited in surplice and bands. A font stood in front of the altar rail; while over

the Holy Table were the Ten Commandments and Christ's summary of Duty to God and Man. There was nothing in any of the arrangements to show that one was not in an "orthodox" Church of somewhat rich and complete adornments. The choir was a mixed one, and rendered the musical portions of the service effectively, to the accompaniment of an excellent organ well manipulated.

The service, which was one of a varied series of set forms arranged for the different Sundays of the month, opened with a prayer, culminating, as it were, in the Lord's Prayer. The Psalms were divided into portions for the year, and each bore above it Swedenborg's "Internal Sense." Two lessons were separated by an anthem—Elvey's "Arise, shine"—and succeeded by the Commandments with Kyrie. Another prayer followed; and then, after giving notice of Good Friday and Easter Sunday services, Dr. Bayley preached a sermon as follows:—

"'*Now in the morning as he returned into the city he hungered. And when he saw a fig-tree in the way, he came to it, and found nothing thereon, but leaves only; and said to it, Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever. And presently the fig-tree withered away.*'—Matt. xxi. 18-19.

"This day being Palm Sunday has long been regarded as the appropriate time to commemorate the remarkable entry of our Lord into Jerusalem, in royal

state, as described in the chapter before us. He fulfilled the prophecy of Zechariah, given five hundred years before. Jesus entered as the king of Jerusalem in its symbolic character, the Church. That prophecy is a very remarkable one. It runs, 'Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, shout, O daughter of Jerusalem, thy King cometh. He is just, and having salvation, lowly, and riding upon an ass.'—Ch. ix. 9.

"The day of humiliation and gloom was at hand, but it was to be preceded by a day of exaltation and triumph. The Lord, before He suffered, was to be hailed as king. The disciples, the common people, and the children united to salute Him as the King of Zion. They went before to salute Him, and crowded around with branches in their hands and strewed them upon the way, praising God for all the mighty works that they had seen, and saying, 'Blessed be the King, that cometh in the name of the Lord: peace in heaven, and glory in the highest.' The full significance of this impressive procession will not be perceived unless we dwell a little upon the circumstances. The prophecy designates Jesus as the King of Zion. In every other place where the king of Zion is named in Zechariah, it is accompanied by words indicating the King Eternal. In the 14th chapter, v. 16, it is said 'The nations shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord, or Jehovah of hosts.' And in the following verse, 'And it shall be, that whoso will not come up of all the families

of the earth unto Jerusalem to worship the King, the Lord, or Jehovah of hosts, even upon them shall be no rain.' In verse nine of the same chapter, we find, 'And the Lord (Jehovah) shall be king over all the earth: in that day there shall be one Lord (Jehovah) and His name one.'

"The Lord Jesus then, in fulfilling this prophecy, was really intimating before His suffering that He was Jehovah in the flesh. Let us notice the incidents as set forth in this chapter, which preceded His last great entry into the corrupt and therefore self-doomed city.

"He sent two disciples into a village, over against Bethphage on the Mount Olives. Because He was omniscient He told them they would find an ass and her colt tied. They were to loose them and bring them to Him. Because He was the Great Proprietor of the Universe to whom all things belong, He was the Supreme Owner of these animals, and therefore He said, 'If any man say ought unto you, ye shall say the Lord hath need of them; and straightway he will send them.'

"These things were done. The Divine Saviour entered Jerusalem seated on the colt, accompanied by its mother, surrounded by His disciples and an exultant multitude, headed by children, singing 'Hosanna to the Son of David.' The whole city, we are told, was moved. The cry arose everywhere, Who is this? The answer given by the multitude

was, This is Jesus of Nazareth of Galilee. But the Redeemer showed He was more than a prophet, greater than the temple, the Lord of the Sabbath.

"He visited the temple and found it, not the house of wisdom, prayer, and peace, but of traders. The desecrated sanctuary of God was turned into a den of thieves. Acting as the Divine Judge—and with the authority and majesty which he exerted whenever needed, and which over-awed alike the faithful and the faithless, which cowed evil spirits and calmed the sea—He cast out unresistingly all that bought and sold, overthrowing the tables of the money changers, and of them that sold doves. He then restored for a time the temple to its proper use. The blind and the lame came to him, and he healed them all.

"This reform, however, was not from within but from without, and therefore was but temporary. Jesus left the city again, and withdrew to Bethany.

"Interesting as these particulars are as acquainting us with the stirring events of the closing period of our Lord's life in the world, we shall derive far deeper and more profitable lessons if we regard them in their spiritual and symbolic character. The Jewish Church was corrupt, and drawing to its close. It was not wanting in knowledge, but it had systematically perverted what it knew. They loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil. They had made the commandments of God of none effect by their traditions. The priests were like whited sepul-

chres, outwardly fair, but inwardly full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. They had had their day, but it was rapidly drawing to a close. They had been visited, warned, admonished, invited. And now, for the last time, in the most impressive way, they were shown their duty, in the strongest yet in the tenderest manner. How often, said the Saviour, would I have gathered thy children as a hen gathered her brood under her wings, and ye would not. 'As he approached the city, He wept over it saying, If thou hadst known in this thy day the things belonging to thy peace; but now they are hid from thine eyes.'

"Such was their day. Every nation has its day, so has every individual. Time is to-day—the day of probation. Eternity is to-morrow. Alas! how sad it is when the day is evilly spent, as it was with Jerusalem, then is the to-morrow a period of condemnation and withering away.

"We shall understand still more vividly the spiritual lesson involved in the circumstances before us, arising out of their symbolic character.

"The fig-tree is an emblem of religion bearing fruit in daily life. The fig-tree was a fruit-tree, but not so valuable as the vine or the olive. It was not cultivated in oliveyards or vineyards, but grew on the way-side. Trees in Scripture are the emblems of truths in the mind. The cultivated soul is like a cultivated garden. There are truths of various kinds, as there are trees of various kinds. The truths of

love, the slightest truths of religion, are represented by the olive. Hence, it is said, in Zechariah, there are two olive trees, the symbols of love to God and love to man, before the throne. Of the gentle influences which flow from these truths, the Psalmist speaks when he says, 'Thou hast anointed my head with oil, my cup runneth over.' The vine represents truths of faith, and its wine their power to comfort and cheer the soul. Hence, when the trees, in the parable in the ninth chapter of Judges, wished the vine to become their king, the vine said, 'Shall I leave my wine, that cheers both God and man, and go to be promoted over the trees?' God is cheered when man is made wise and happy. The fig-tree was also addressed and invited to be king, but replied, 'Should I forsake my sweetness, and my good fruit, and go to be promoted over the trees?' Kind deeds in daily life are very sweet. The fruits of integrity and genuine virtue are good fruits. Though not so showy as extraordinary talent, they are the solid bases of comfort, happiness, and progress in society. Jeremiah, in chapter 24, relates a vision he had of two baskets of figs. The good figs, he shows, represent the good and obedient people; and the bad, those who disobeyed the Lord, and became a curse and a reproach, wherever they might be.

"The fig-tree, bearing fruit, is the lowest type of a Christian life. It does not represent a Christian life from love, nor a Christian life from elevated and en-

lightened faith, but a Christian life from command, from obedience. That state of obedience is the last which remains when religion is declining with a man; or it is the first state, when religion is advancing with a man.

"Hence our Lord in one of His parables said, 'Behold these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none; cut it down, why cumbereth it the ground?' And the cultivator answered, 'Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it, and if it bear fruit, well; if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down.' No fruit on the fig-tree signifies no virtues in ordinary life. Where these persistently fail, a man does not belong to the Lord's Church at all. Why cumbereth he the ground? When the Lord is describing the rise of a new dispensation, after the end of a former one, meant by the end of the world, He says, 'Now learn a parable of the fig-tree: When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh; so likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors.'

"When the young soul opens itself to the influences of religion, and is steady to the calls of virtue and duty, it is like the opening fig-tree. The branches are tender and put forth leaves. The sentiments are delicate and the thoughts are new, but a spring-time of the soul has begun and summer is nigh.

"A fig-tree all full of leaves, and no fruit, is like a soul all profession, and no real goodness.

"On the tree of human character you not unfrequently find a large growth of conversation, but no works of charity, piety, or integrity. They say, and do not. The apostle Paul terms such sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal. They are a fair show, but no reality. They have not the energetic sap which comes from earnest love. Divine love has yearned over them, and visited them from time to time, but there is no heartfelt response. They are selfish and cold. They have leaves, but no fruit.

> And they who only leaves can show,
> Still on the stock of nature grow.

"When such are in the Church of God, they are there only from mercenary motives. They are traffickers in the temple, mere moneychangers, or dealers in holy things for gain.

"There are many visitations made by the Lord in the conscience of a man, from time to time, and at last one more powerful exploration than ever before comes, and reveals the base and unworthy principles which are active in his heart, and for the time overawes and drives them out.

"If a man's religion, however, be pharisaical, and his heart selfish, no sooner is his terror over, and the restraint passed, than he comes out carping and cynical as before. Like the Scribes and Pharisees who

heeded nothing of their own impieties, but were troubled at the children's joyous praise.

"From such a soul Jesus withdraws. He leaves their city. He retires within His own grace and mercy—represented by Jesus leaving the city and going to Bethany, whose name means the House of Grace.

"Their day ends; and what happens to them on the morrow or in eternity was represented by what is said in our text.

"Now, in the morning as He returneth into the city He hungered. There is a divine hunger, as well as a human one.

"I have meat to eat, said our Lord on one occasion, that ye know not of. I stand at the door and knock. If any man will open the door I will come in to him, and sup with him, and he with me.

"The Lord's desire for the salvation of his creatures, and conjunction with them, is His divine hunger. Spiritually minded men have such hunger in an inferior degree. Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled.

"It is this divine yearning for a man's real happiness that is expressed in the spiritual application of the words, He hungered.

"His coming to see the fig-tree, represents His exploration of the soul. He wishes to find fruit. Leaves are nothing in His sight, if they are not accompanied by fruit.

"But men who are like the fig-tree before us have

no fruit. By their fruits ye shall know them, our Lord said on another occasion, and by their want of fruits ye may know them.

"The fig-tree shows fruit before leaves. There were plenty of leaves, and ought to have been fruit. In Mark it is said the time of figs was not yet. But yet is not in the original. The meaning is there were no figs. But there ought to have been.

"In the eternal world, no knowledge, no religious thoughts, remain which have not been grounded in love, and embodied in works.

"If we come there without good works, all other talents wither away. Whenever you find judgment described in the Bible, it is a decision according to works. 'Unto him that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; and from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have.' This is the divine and eternal law. No eloquence, no talent, no thoughts even, which have not been accompanied by goodness in the heart will remain. Charity remaineth, but shams and superficialities collapse and perish.

"It was to represent this, our Lord said to the fig-tree, let no fruit grow on thee henceforth for ever. And the fig tree presently withered away.

"It was a striking and astounding spectacle to see this miracle performed. And no doubt the collapse of empty professors, of self-seeking and sanctimonious souls, will in the eternal world be as complete as that

of the fig-tree. The same truth is often taught in the Word in other forms. When the man who had not a wedding garment was addressed by the King, in the Parable of the wedding feast, he was speechless. To the Church of Ephesus which had left its first love, the Lord said, 'I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.' The same truth is implied in these various forms of speech. What is then that truth, dear brethren, to us? It is this, Let us become genuinely true and good—trees of righteousness, as the Prophet Isaiah says, branches of the planting of Jehovah. Let us beware of being trees of leaves only.

"The Lord visits us from time to time during our probation days! let us profit by His mercies. Let us plough our mental ground, and plant, and sun our mental trees until they bloom and bear the virtues of a holy life. Let us dread having a name that we live, though we are dead. Let us fear the to-morrow of an eternity that will find us with leaves only, for then the Righteous though loving Judge must say, 'Let no fruit grow on thee henceforward for ever.'

"But, on the contrary, let us realize the divine assurance, 'Those that be planted in the house of the Lord shall flourish in the Courts of our God. They shall still bring forth fruit in old age: they shall be fat and flourishing: to show that the Lord is upright: He is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in Him.'"

Prefixed to the Service Book is a brief summary of the faith of the New Jerusalem Church, which is worth transcribing, as the principles of this religious body are little understood, and consequently often misrepresented :—

"That there is one eternal, self-existent God, who is infinite love and wisdom—the Creator and Sustainer of all things.

"In fulness of time, and for the redemption of man, He took upon Him human nature by birth of a virgin, and became 'God manifest in the flesh' in the person of Jesus Christ, in whom 'dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily.'

"The Lord Jesus Christ is the one only true object of Christian faith and worship; and in Him is centred the Divine Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—the Divinity of the Father being the soul of the Son, and the Humanity of the Son being the body of the Father—so hence proceeds the Holy Spirit to regenerate and save mankind.

"The Lord became our Redeemer by subduing the infernal hosts and glorifying His Humanity, without which no man could have been saved, and by which all men are capable of being saved by belief in Him; such belief implying a faithful obedience to the divine laws as the means of receiving the gifts of salvation.

"The Sacred Scripture is the Word of God, and contains within its external or literal sense an internal or spiritual sense—being thus divine.

"On the death of the natural body, man rises again in a spiritual body; and, according to the quality of his life here, lives in happiness or misery hereafter.

"Now is the time of the Lord's second coming, not in person, but in the power and great glory of His Holy Word, to establish a new and permanent church, typified in the Revelation by the holy city, New Jerusalem, descending from God out of Heaven."

Perhaps, however, a more definite exposition still of the present position of the New Jerusalem Church may be gathered from the following extracts from "A Sermon for the Times: The second coming of Christ.—Christ is coming; but how?" by Dr. Bayley.

"'*He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is that loveth me; and he that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.*'—John xiv. 21.

"Christ is coming soon. The world is old, worn out and may quickly now be expected to end. The world is disjointed, corrupted, profligate, fraudulent, turbulent, immoral, and miserable; it is time it were judged and burnt up. The end of all things is at hand. It has been mistakenly placed in 1867, and at many other past periods. But it cannot be far off now. There were to be troubles, wars, and rumours of wars, and surely we live in very troublous and changing times. We do not know where we are

going, or what it all means. Such are the remarks one occasionally hears or reads, and they are of a sufficiently startling character. Sometimes this sentiment takes a very curious form. There are religious persons who will not use the Lord's Prayer or let their children use it, because it contains the petition 'Thy kingdom come,' because they think it means that this glorious fabric of the universe will be destroyed, and leave not a wreck behind, when the kingdom of God shall come.

"I read in a newspaper the other day, that it was proposed by a minister who visited a small town in a county of Tennessee, America, that there should commence a Sunday school, in which the children might be instructed in the Bible, the good people of that town never having had such a thing as a Sunday school. The deacons, however, of a leading congregation of the place called the Hardshells, a species of Baptists, I believe, said, 'If these Sunday schools go on everywhere, the world will soon be full of the knowledge of the Lord, and then the end is to come, and the world will be destroyed. We dread this awful catastrophe in our day, we must stop this Sunday school.' And the Sunday school was stopped.

"On the contrary, there are numbers who maintain that the world is growing younger. Bad as it is, they believe the world is throwing off ignorance, superstition, selfish laws and selfish habits, enmities of people against people, and nation against nation.

Vice and crime and poverty are being struggled with as they have never been encountered before, and these feel assured that the day is coming, however distant, when—

> All crimes shall cease, and ancient fraud shall fail,
> Returning justice lift aloft her scale;
> Peace o'er the world her olive wand extend,
> And whiterobed innocence from heaven descend;
> No sigh, no murmur, the wide world shall hear,
> From every face He'll* wipe off every tear.

Those of this hopeful faith sing with Tennyson, and with all the poets, those prophets of the future—

> Ring out a slowly dying cause,
> And ancient forms of party strife;
> Ring in the nobler kinds of life,
> With sweeter manners, purer laws.
>
> Ring out the want, the care, the sin,
> The faithless coldness of the times;
> Ring out, ring out my mournful rhymes,
> But ring the fuller minstrel in.
>
> Ring out false pride in place and blood,
> The civic slander and the spite;
> Ring in the love of truth and right,
> Ring in the common love of good.
>
> Ring out old shapes of foul disease,
> Ring out the narrowing lust of gold,
> Ring out the thousand wars of old,
> Ring in the thousand years of peace.
>
> Ring in the valiant man, and free,
> The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
> Ring out the darkness of the land,
> Ring in the Christ that is to be.

"Such are the hopes throbbing in the bosoms of

* The Lord Jesus.

multitudes of thoughtful men now respecting the 'good time coming.' And certainly they are all warranted clearly by numerous places in Holy Writ, as I trust we shall see before this discourse is ended.

"Those who thus think have noticed that in Scripture the breaking up of the world means the change of a bad old system for a better. The end of the world means the 'end of a dispensation,' the end of one great system of thought and action (see 1 Cor. x. 11; Heb. ix. 26). . . . .

"A church with genuine God-given doctrines, having a priesthood devotedly pious, with pure hearts and enlightened minds, diligent in studying God's Word, and faithful in teaching it, will make a happy world. But when the Church, instead of leading men to struggle faithfully against their sins, excuses them, palliates them, invents methods by which people may imagine they can sin and take no harm, then it is bad for the world. Multitudes take advantage of a lax and dangerous doctrine, and suffer their passions or their lusts to go unchecked during a long life, soothing themselves with the delusion that a few pious thoughts and prayers, when nature is worn out, will make all right for heaven. So, selfish frauds arise and spread and multiply, until trade is altogether corrupted, and instead of the pleasures of honest dealing between upright men, there exists on every side, suspicion, trickery, and deceitful schemes of every kind, making life painful and difficult to

multitudes who pray only to do their duty sincerely, and have a modest and temperate provision for their daily wants. . . . .

"The Church is, as it were, the heart of the world. When it is healthy, pure, and strong, holding up among men those grand principles of love, faith, justice, and judgment by which the Almighty enthrones Himself in the hearts of angels and of men, the pulsations of virtue flow freely, and carry health into all the ramifications of the social body, even to the very extremes. A nation having such a church becomes a wise and understanding people (Deut. iv. 6). But where a church is feeble, or, still worse, false, neglecting its high duties of holding up before men the laws of heaven as the guides of earth—suffering the young to grow up in ignorance, and permitting superstition to hold the place of enlightenment and good sense—weakly pandering to the pride of the powerful and passing by unnoticed the debasement of the poor—winking like some great owl in a bewilderment at every ray of new light, but securing a full share of the general plunder—the body of a nation will swarm with social evils. The whole state in such a condition of society is tainted by restlessness, uncertainty, private and public immorality tempered only by low motives, chronic convulsion, and general decay, until some stormy disaster comes, like the destruction of Jerusalem and the French Revolution. The once popular forms of religion have received

severe blows during the last hundred years, and will continue to receive them, until the former heavens and the former earth have passed away, with all their corruptions, hypocrisies, and mummeries; and a religion true to God and true to man, a full development of the Word of God, a new heaven and a new earth, are established in their stead.

"Heaven and earth in scripture mean a church and a state of the world growing out of it. The church is the Lord's heaven upon earth. How plainly this will appear to the observant reader respecting the formation of the church when he regards the following language of the prophet:—'And I have put my words into thy mouth, and I have covered thee in the shadow of mine hand, that I may plant the heavens, and lay the foundations of the earth, and say unto Zion, thou art my people' (Isa. li. 16). No one could surely suppose that in consequence of the Lord putting His words into man's mouth, the starry heavens were planted, or the rocky foundations of the land were laid. The destruction of the church is equally represented as the reduction to chaos of HEAVEN AND EARTH by Jeremiah. 'For my people is foolish, they have not known me: they are sottish children, and they have none understanding: they are wise to do evil, but to do good they have no knowledge. I beheld the earth, and lo it was without form and void; and the heavens, and they had no light' (iv. 22-23). Here the vices and follies of the people

are declared to have had the result of making the earth without form and void, and the heavens so that they had no light. But every intelligent reader will see that the language is only to be understood in a moral and spiritual sense. It refers to the church, its confusion, and the absence of spiritual light in it, owing to human traditions and human vices making the commandments of God of none effect. . . . .

"Let us now look at another class of passages—passages full of hope and consolation, but owing to the darkness which had been induced in the mind by the erroneous view respecting the end of the world, very much overlooked. These all speak of the latter days, as being a time of restoration, of universal light, love, purity, and peace, all flowing from a true knowledge of God in Christ, the Father in the Son. But how could such passages ever be fulfilled if the universe were to be burnt and pass away, leaving not a wreck behind?

"In Isaiah we read, and it is repeated in Micah, chap. iv., 'And it shall come to pass in the last days, that the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills, and all nations shall flow unto it. And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob: and He will teach us of His ways, and we will walk in His paths: for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from

Jerusalem. And He shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. O house of Jacob, come ye, and let us walk in the light of the Lord!' (ii. 2-5). . . . .

"In the corruptions of the dark ages every condition and every occupation of life has been defiled and disfigured by selfishness—

The trail of the serpent is over them all.

"Above all, the Lord is coming to sanctify the central work of domestic life, and imbue with His Spirit of Love and Wisdom the sacred ties of marriage. True religion and marriage go hand in hand together. Where marriage is lightly esteemed, religion is weak or worthless. When marriage is regarded as the focus of heaven's choicest blessings, and its best representative on earth, the nursery for angels, the centre, the safeguard, and jewel of human society, to be prepared for with sacred purity and guarded with holiest reverence, then will the world be purified in its sources of influence, and happiness, rich, deep, and pure, will irradiate every part. Government has been the trade of capricious and despicable tyrants, instead of the ennobling ministry of true kings of men: commerce, which is the friendly intercourse of mutual blessings, became the self-seeking gamble of men only

anxious for sordid, and often fraudulent, gain. Christ does not yet reign at the dockyards; but He is coming, and, oh! what a clear-out of trickeries and treacheries must follow!

"Work has been despised and degraded. Labour, which is the use of man's God-given faculties, and which diffuses over the earth the myriad beauties and blessings which sustain, enrich, and decorate the world, has been deemed a curse. The rich and noble have been taught to glory in the dignity of having nothing to do. In the 'good time coming' it will not be so. Each man will be trained to rejoice in performing the work which God has prepared him to accomplish, and to do it in the best manner, as his best way of serving Him who is the Infinite Worker, and all whose works are done in truth. Our blessed Redeemer condescended to work as a carpenter, amongst other reasons to consecrate all labour by His example, and to teach all that happiness is to be sought not in selfish sloth, but in loving usefulness. O! let the laws and the spirit of our blessed Redeemer come into our workshops; let every youth who comes there come with a well-taught mind, trained by a previous sound education to delight in work—enough for comfort, enough for health, and enough for progress, but not debased by crushing toil, or withering, unhealthy conditions, and the Christian workman shall be Christ's man indeed. The hearts of the multitudes, which have been driven away from the religion of talk, of

profession and of so-called FAITH ONLY, will come back to the Christ of loving-kindness. The Lord Jesus is coming again, and when He has come into the workshops, as the spirit of justice and love, there will be no oppression and no strikes; but mutual ministry among the employers and the employed will manifest that the Lord in very deed is Emanuel, GOD WITH US. Then will the promise of the latter-day glory be fulfilled—'O house of Jacob, come ye, let us WALK in the light of the Lord' (Isa. ii. 5). 'The nations of them that are saved SHALL WALK in the light of the holy city, and the kings of the earth do bring their glory and honour into it' (Rev. xxi. 24). . . . .

"There is no death to him who has conquered sin. His removal from earth is a departure to a higher life and a more perfect home. He who keepeth my saying, said the Redeemer, shall never see death (John viii. 51). Whosoever liveth and believeth in Me SHALL NEVER DIE (John xi. 26). The future life is a higher form of this, as the blossom is higher than the leaf, the butterfly than the caterpillar. He who is trained for heaven has already heaven in himself, already is in company with angels, and already is prepared for the golden sceptre of the messenger of heaven. He goes to heaven because heaven has come to him.

"Away, then, with those carnal dreams of a great parade in the outward sky. No outward trumpeters are wanted to make a clamour in the clouds. What we need is the still small voice of the Saviour God

within; that comes like a dew from heaven to refresh and fertilize the wilderness of unregenerate souls, and make them blossom like the rose. 'The kingdom of God cometh not with observation' (outward show). Oh, when shall we learn the depth of that wonderful declaration—'Neither shall they say, Lo here! or, lo there! for the kingdom of God is within you' (Luke xvii. 20-21). Gaze not among the outward clouds expecting a coming of the Lord Jesus there. When you love Him, as our text says, He will manifest Himself to you. He is in all the wise arrangements of creation, but you will never see or feel Him there until you open your heart to receive Him as Christ in you the Hope of Glory (Col. i. 27).

"Let the Spirit of the Lord Jesus enter into all you do and say, let Him go forth with you into your farm, your counting-house, your warehouse, your manufactory, your workshop, your council-chamber, and your home, filling you with His Divine Love and Wisdom, and you will soon find the earth brighter about you.

"God's world is a glorious world, it only needs you to enter into God's idea of it. Be like-minded with angels, and you will soon find this world like heaven. You wish to enter heaven? Enter then. Heaven is here also when you let it enter you. There is nothing, my beloved brother and sister, wanting to the Lord's Second Coming, with all its splendour and happiness, but your heartfelt embrace of His Divine Will in all

things. Come into His kingdom. 'The Spirit and the bride say, Come. And let him that heareth say, Come. And let him that is athirst come. And whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely. Even so, come, Lord Jesus.' "

MR. BRADLAUGH *VERSUS* GOD.

THE farther I pursue my subject, the more convinced do I become how unadvisable it is to act the part of ecclesiastical gentlemen of England and sit at home at ease, if we would rightly estimate the present state of religious thought in our midst. I am, of course, in my individual capacity, only taking London as typical of England; and I can assure my readers that the fertility and copiousness of my subject surprised, almost alarmed, me, though I had undergone some previous experiences in this way, and was prepared to find diversity where I had at first only expected uniformity. It is only thus, practically, by plunging beneath the surface, that one gets to realize the subdivisions of what we too often vaguely speak of as Free Thought or Infidelity, as if it were only one and not a hundred things.

Just, however, as I had on a previous occasion discovered that there were Plymouth Brethren and Plymouth Brethren—as I had found out that Judaism had its two schools of thought divided almost as strongly as Catholics and Protestants, so did I find, at an early stage of my present inquiry, that there were these three marked divisions to be realized,

admitting in their turn, of copious subdivision: (1) descending, so to say, gradually from orthodoxy, Unitarianism in its manifold phases, differing from the Established Faith etymologically by the elimination of one dogma, but more generally by the excision of any Test, Creed, or Articles. (2) Theism, under varied aspects, from Christian Theism to Pure Theism; where, to speak again roughly, the whole idea of Mediator and much of Revelation was abandoned. And (3) Atheism, with its more advanced development of dogmatic Anti-Theism.

It would have been, of course, greatly to be desired that one should treat these matters in some definite serial order; but the detached mode of publication adopted for these papers precluded the possibility of that, while, at the same time, the work never assumed the proportions of a philosophical inquiry, but was content to aim at giving a series of pictures, more or less vivid, of religious life in London.

It will be inevitable that, wherever our subject is Atheism, especially in its more advanced phases, that picture shall resolve itself into a portrait of Mr. Bradlaugh, the drapings and adjuncts varying, but the man remaining the same. The influence of this one man in his department is simply prodigious, as any one can prove for himself who will only take the trouble to do what I have done; that is, not sit at home and read reports at second-hand, but, Sunday after Sunday, pass by the "customary hassock," as

Thomas Hood says, and follow Mr. Bradlaugh at the Hall of Science, or wherever else he may be found. Other forms of Free Thought have often many representatives; but at this most advanced outpost Mr. Bradlaugh is almost in sole command. There are one or two prominent men, whose names we shall have to mention by-and-bye, associated with him; but, as I have said, his influence is so pre-eminent that it is not only allowable but almost inevitable our picture-painting shall for awhile give place to portraiture.

I thought I could not do better, in laying down my first broad outlines of this portion of my subject, than to visit the Hall of Science, Old Street, St. Luke's, on a Sunday evening when Mr. Bradlaugh was to take as his subject the thoroughly distinctive one of the "Existence of God." We should, at all events, be sure to get at the root of the matter thus. The lecture was to take the special form of a reply to Francis E. Abbott, of the *Index;* but to me it was interesting only on its own merits; and accordingly I went to the Hall of Science, which is near the Aldersgate Street station of the Metropolitan Railway, about a quarter to seven on the Sunday evening in question. The lecture was to commence at seven.

Though I was a full quarter of an hour before time then, and fortified, moreover, by Mr. Bradlaugh's card to pass myself and friend to the reserved seats, I found that the vast area and galleries of the Hall of

Science were even then full, and I had great difficulty in struggling to a front seat, which soon ceased to be a front seat, for busy officials had to range forms in front again, thus destroying my fond hopes that I should have fair play for my somewhat extended legs. I was amazed, not only at the continuous stream of people which flowed into this building, paying, let us remember, their twopence and fourpence each, but also at their character. The large majority, perhaps, were of the tradesman and artisan class; but close by me, in the reserved seats, I had men-of-war's men in their naval costume, and real labourers and navvies in their working clothes; and I could not help asking myself the question, How is it Mr. Bradlaugh can get these people to pay fourpence and listen to an abstruse subject, while we cannot "compel them to come in?" Surely that problem is legitimately open to debate.

By the time the colossal head and shoulders of Mr. Bradlaugh—for he is a son of Anak—were seen struggling among the crowd, every inch of room for sitting or standing was occupied; and he had considerable difficulty in piloting his two daughters on to the lofty platform, where a few men were already seated on either side of his lecturing table. The applause was long and loud as he took his accustomed place on the left of the chairman; and when this subsided, that functionary passed at once to the business of the evening. First of all he gave notice that Mr.

Bradlaugh would open the new Democratic Club in that Hall on the following Saturday; that on a subsequent Tuesday he would expatiate on the Queen's Speech and the Premier's intentions; and finally—much to my delectation—that he would, previously to his lecture that evening, perform the ceremony of Naming an Infant. Then Mr. Bradlaugh rose—a tall, commanding figure, with a clean shaven face, and hair brushed back from his forehead; a quick, bright eye, and that massive appearance of the jaw which is so often seen in the habitual speaker. He first of all asked us if we who were sitting down would mind taking our hats off; those who were forced to stand could do as they found most convenient. Next he announced his intention of devoting the Sunday evenings of April to an examination of the volume issued by the Christian Evidence Society entitled "Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament," his general subject resolving itself into the inquiry, "Is the Bible true?" Then he stated that he had acceded to the wish of the parents that he should publicly name their child. He took the little crooning thing in his brawny arms, and said he did this, not in mockery, not in imitation of any religious bodies, but simply as a matter of public utility. The child must be known hereafter by a distinctive name; and he took it to be desirable that the name should be thus publicly bestowed. He here pronounced the name "Elizabeth," and, in handing the child back to its

mother, kissing it as he did so, he took occasion to say that she at all events, could not consider his ministrations demoralizing since she entrusted her daughter thus to him. He did not ask the congregation to undertake a sponsorship, but he did ask them to bear witness to the ceremony, and hoped the child in after years would never have cause to regret her association with him.

He then went on to say that he had never, as an Atheist, concealed his views on the subject of the lecture. He stated them, not in bravado, but because he believed there was utility in his doing so. Some people said to him it was very well to criticise a book or a church, but why, they asked, should he unsettle men's minds? Why should we solve a problem in arithmetic? Why should we measure the area of an estate, or the distance between two towns? Why should we ascertain any truth at all? "Answer me that," he said, "and I will answer your question." Such was his very characteristic exordium.

Every truth, he proceeded, was useful, in its recognition and in its affirmation. There was no limit to human thought, and there should be no limit to the expression of those thoughts except honesty in their utterance. "Suppose that my theory were as false as I believe it to be true," he said, "it would be well that I should speak it out still. Unsettle men's minds! Surely that is a sign of weakness. Am I so strong that I can undo the knot which a million-

clergy power has been so long tying? Either that must be intended as a great compliment to me, or must be a confession of weakness. I will presume it is a compliment to myself."

Then again others said, they could understand the demolition of the special God of the Koran or of the Buddhists, of the Persians or of the Hebrews; but the pure Theist said, What have you to say to us? It was to them he addressed himself on the present occasion. He would take Mr. Abbott and Professor F. W. Newman as his texts. (Alas! how impossible I had once thought it that anybody should take up his parable from the author of "Phases of Faith," as erring on the side of excess. Verily we live and learn in these progressive days!) Mr. Abbott spoke of a "God of Science;" and he generally found that every Theist assumed four-fifths of his positions, and turned a somersault over the other fifth. He meant a mental somersault, which differed from physical ones in this way, that in the latter you usually came to the ground, but in the former you often never came to earth at all, but remained in the clouds. He read a long passage from Mr. Abbott's article in the *Index* in support of this assertion; and I took occasion to look round and notice the gaze of that vast audience riveted on the lecturer. Truly, for good or ill, that man sways a vast power!

Those who owned this God of Science attributed to Him a magnificently successful plan. "I attribute

just the reverse," said Mr. Bradlaugh. "If I could conceive an Infinite Mind, which I cannot," he proceeded, "I should say that the results are inadequate. The Infinite Mind contrived the teeth of the jack to eat minnows; but the same Infinite Mind devised the swiftness for the minnow to get out of the way of the jack. I shall be told it is blasphemy to say this; but is not the blasphemy rather on the other side? The vessel long owing puts into the port of New York, having encountered icebergs 1800 miles from land. Now, on the doctrine of Infinite Mind, were those icebergs planned to destroy the ship, which they did not, or only to frighten the people on board, which they did? Had He arranged those icebergs an eternity ago—and several eternities before that—or were they an effect on which He had not calculated?"

Then, again, there was Vesuvius. Was it a part of the plan that there should be no eruption for many years, and that the village of Torre del Greco should be built on the slopes; and then that the Creator, who had not worried the people with lava since the time when Pompeii was destroyed, should suddenly send down the fiery stream and destroy the villagers in the dead of night? This argument of the Universal Mind, he urged, proved too much. How could it be brought to bear on the hurricane and the earthquake? Creation to the Atheist was only change of conditions. If something came where

nothing was before, who was there to create it? He protested against this question being regarded as a mere trick of words. It was meant to make those to whom he put it think.

Then he passed on to Professor Newman. This gentleman found Mr. Abbott's God too cold for him, and so wrote a letter to the *Index* called "The Two Theisms." A third might be added—namely, the Deism of the eighteenth century; but the two specially alluded to were (1) the Greek Theism, represented by Aristotle, which regarded God as the source of General Law, and might resolve him into a force—this was Mr. Abbott's doctrine, objected to by Professor Newman; and (2) Hebrew Theism, acknowledging God *plus* Providence. This latter Theism recognised the instinct of individual prayer. Said Mr. Bradlaugh, in his own positive way, "I deny it." Modern Science had proved that habits might be created and transmitted; and these, he urged, were often mistaken for instincts. He would examine the Prayer-Doctrine, not of the Bible or the Koran, but speaking as Atheist to Theist. Prayer was simply the appeal of the weak and ignorant for a result which they did not understand how it could be accomplished by other means. The "Greek Legions" (*sic*) prayed to Mars for success in battle. Tell me the difference, he said, between this and saying, "Our Father which art in Heaven, Give us this day our daily bread." If the sword arm of Horatius

failed, Mars did not intervene to save. So, while we repeated "Our Father," men starved in Lancashire, if the work failed.

Sir John Lubbock, he went on to say, told us, in a book which he (Mr. Bradlaugh) had examined in that Hall, of certain tribes whose language contained no word representing prayer. They had no conception of it. "I," he said, "am the proof that it is not instinctive. I don't pray. Twenty-five or twenty-six years ago," he continued—and here Cleon's brazen voice sank to tones of the very tenderest pathos—"I as a young man *did* try to pray. I was suffering agony: and I prayed that some sign might be given me of my prayer being heard. None came; and I doubted. I don't doubt now. I'm not a sceptic now. I know, and I disbelieve now; mine is not a mind of doubt."

Then he would go into the reason of Prayer. "Why do you pray?" he kept asking. If there were a Providential plan, you could not change the plan. If your prayer were part of the plan, it was useless to pray. But why did people pray? To get something done for them? On the supposition of the plan, all that was necessary would be done. It was an impeachment of the plan to try to modify it by prayer. The greater number of people, he thought, prayed without thinking why they prayed; but only fancy some twelve hundred millions of people in the world all praying for different things!

Multiply that by a few billions of worlds in the universe, and the idea became monstrous. The Christian Theist, in addition to this, believed in special salvation, and that the more he called, the quicker he should get it. Let them be sure, however, that, whether their God existed or not, the more they worked and the less they prayed, the safer they would be.

His own position was that of an Atheist. To him the word God represented nothing. He did not know what it meant. He did not know where, even in thought, to put God. Even if he could conceive Him, which he could not, the God so conceived could not be immutable. He was told of Providence, and he remarked how a high tide in the river destroyed the goods of a poor family which would have been saved if they had been rich enough to live one storey higher in the house. Or he thought of famine devastating large tracts of country. Now there should be no evil like this. Either God wanted to prevent such evil and couldn't, or else He deliberately planned it. "I am an Atheist," he added, in a bold apostrophe. "He must have planned *me!*" The vast assembly recognised the point, and applauded to the echo. "I am told this is immoral," he proceeded. "Nothing that is true is immoral. Show me that my doctrine is false, and you will compel me to abandon it. I do not say I shall be ready to concede

the falsity. Prove me the falsity and I *must* abandon the position."

But it was asked, What would there be to hold men to the truth if you made them Atheists? What held them now? King William announced the slaughter of ten thousand men, and thanked God! "Go out," he added, "into the lanes around this Hall. The people don't believe in me. They have the name of God often enough on their lips. What good does it do them?

"What guide have I? If I had none, it would not make your Churches and Prayers true. It would only be the increase of my weakness, not of your strength. So far I haven't touched your Book. If you dare to put your Bible morality in evidence—do it."

It had been said that nothing had come of all this war of atheism against belief; but something had come. Freedom of thought had come. There was less cant—a good deal still, but less than formerly. It had come that men could not be burnt now for their opinions. Racks and *autos-da-fé* had disappeared. Education could not be shut out. Bruno and Shelley and Voltaire and Paine had done something; "though, remember," he said in conclusion, "we have only been able to talk for the last two hundred years. You have had thousands of years to deaden men's brains in." And so he sat down amid a perfect storm of applause.

A reply was invited, and it was stipulated by Mr. Bradlaugh that the same indulgence should be extended to opponents as to himself. They were strong and could afford to be generous. If they did not encourage discussion, they would get into the way of the "pulpit people."

One Mr. Jenkins, a feeble supporter of Christianity, passed most disadvantageously to the place Mr. Bradlaugh had occupied. He submitted that Sir John Lubbock's prayerless people were on a level with the brute beasts, and wound up a rambling oration by a verbal struggle with Mr. Bradlaugh, in which he had decidedly the worst. It was another case—of which I have seen only too many—where Christianity had to pray to be saved from its friends. I can quite understand that more harm would be done by Mr. Jenkins's weak defence than Mr. Bradlaugh's bold defiance; and I was really glad when Mr. Jenkins obeyed the forcible injunction of somebody in the audience to "shut up," though Mr. Bradlaugh and the Chairman protested strongly against the interruption. They were wise enough in their generation to see that Mr. Jenkins was playing into their hand.

Mr. Williams, who followed on the theistic side, was better; but still I cannot help thinking the Christian Evidence Society must be holding some stronger men in reserve. Why should not some of their *very* strongest dignitaries come down to the

Hall of Science and justify their title of "Doctors" —teachers—"of divinity?" Mr. Williams judiciously praised Mr. Bradlaugh's oration, which was too profound to be dealt with off-hand, and should be read and studied. Mr. Bradlaugh, however, was not to be thrown off his guard even by buttered sugar, and combated Mr. Williams's positions so severely that the method became dialectical or catechetical on a sudden. People tired of it then. They had come to "hear Bradlaugh," not to listen to discussion: but still Mr. Williams stood his ground manfully, and gained applause, when he wound up by saying that Atheism rested on a flimsy foundation, and urged his audience "in the name of common sense" to "prove all things."

After a brief reply by Mr. Bradlaugh the meeting closed, and most of us went. Many remained, however, and broke up into little knots for discussion. There was a large sale in the room for Paine's works, for the *National Reformer* of the week, and notably for the following small pamphlet by Mr. Bradlaugh himself, "Is there a God?" which sums up several of the arguments utilized on the occasion in question:—

"Is there a God?

"Some of those who have heard me venture to examine the question of the existence of Deity *viva voce*, have desired to have my reasons for holding the Atheistic position briefly stated, and while I do not

pretend to exhaust the subject in these few pages, I trust to say enough to provoke thought and inquiry. I do not say, 'There is no God,' and the scarcely polite rejoinder of those who quote the Psalmist cannot therefore be applied with justice towards myself. I have never yet heard living man give me a clear, coherent definition of the word 'God,' and I have never read any definition from either dead or living man expressing a definite and comprehensible idea of Deity. In fact, it has always appeared to me that men use that word rather to hide their ignorance than to express their knowledge.* Climatic conditions often, and diversity of human race always, govern and modify the meaning conveyed by the word. By 'God' one nation or sect expresses love—another, vengeance—another, good—another, wisdom—another, fire—another, water—another, air—another, earth—and some even confound their notion of Deity with that of devil. Elihu Palmer well observes: 'The Christian world worships three infinite Gods, and one omniscient devil.' I do not deny 'God,' because that word conveys to me no idea, and I cannot deny that which presents to me no distinct affirmation, and of which the would-be affirmer has no conception. I cannot war with a nonentity. If, however, God is affirmed to represent an existence which is distinct

* In Sir William Hamilton's Essay on Cousin, I find a note quoting M. Piesse on Kant, *in which the word God stands as the equivalent for a phase of the unknowable.*

from the existence of which I am a mode, and which it is alleged is not the *noumenon*, of which the word 'I' represents only a speciality of *phenomena*, then I deny 'God,' and affirm that it is impossible 'God' can be. That is, I affirm that there is one existence, and deny that there can be more than one. Atheists are sometimes content to say to their opponents, your 'proofs' are no proofs, your 'evidences' are failures, you do not, and cannot prove the existence of Deity. This ground may be safe, but the conduct of its occupier is not daring. The swordsman who always guarded and parried, but never ventured cut or thrust, might himself escape unwounded, but he would thus make but little progress towards victory over his opponent.

"It is well to show that the position of your antagonist is weak, but it is better to prove that you are strong.

"In a paper as limited as the present, it is necessary to be brief both in answer to opponents, and in the statement of my own opinions. This is rather intended as the challenging speech of a debate, not as a complete essay on the existence of Deity.

"There are two modes in which Theists endeavour to prove the existence of God, and each of these modes is in its turn denounced by Theistic writers—1st, the *à priori;* 2nd, the *à posteriori.* Of the former, Pearson, in his 'Prize Essay on Infidelity,' says: 'The *à priori* mode of reasoning is the ex-

clusive idol of many of the German logicians. . . . . But in their hands this kind of reasoning has completely failed. It conducts the mind to no firm resting-place; it bewilders instead of elucidating our notions of God, of man, and the universe. It gives us no divine personal existence, and leaves us floating in a region of mere vague abstractions. Such reasonings are either altogether vain, or are not really what they profess to be. In our country the name of Dr. Clarke is chiefly associated with the *à priori* argument. . . . . Clarke himself found it necessary to stoop to the argument *à posteriori*, and thereby acknowledged the fallacy of attempting to reason exclusively *à priori*. . . . . The fate of Dr. Clarke's pretended demonstration, and the result, in so far as theology is concerned, of the transcendental reasoning of the continental philosophers, show the futility of attempting to rise up to the height of the great argument of the existence of God by the *à priori* method alone.'

"Of the latter, William Gillespie, in his 'Treatise on the Necessary Existence of Deity,' writes, that it 'can never make it appear that infinity belongs in any way to God.' It 'can only entitle us to infer the existence of a being of finite extension, for, by what rule in philosophy can we deduce from the existence of an object finite in extent (and nothing is plainer than that the marks of design which we can discover must be finite in their extent) the existence

of a cause of infinity of extension? What, then, becomes of the omnipresence of the Deity, according to those who are content to rest satisfied from the reasoning of experience? . . . . It will be vain to talk of the Deity being present by his energy, although he may not be present by his substance, to the whole universe. For 'tis natural to ask not so much how it is proved that God is virtually present, though not substantially present, in every part of nature, as what can be meant by being everywhere present by mere energy?' This 'reasoning can no more make out that the Deity is omnipresent by his virtue, than that he is omnipresent as to his substance. . . . . And from the inaptitude of the reasoning under consideration to show that immensity, or omnipresence, belongs to God, it will be found to follow, directly and immediately, that his wisdom and power cannot be shown to be more than finite, and that he can never be proved to be a free agent. . . . . Omnipresence (let it be only by energy) is absolutely necessary in a being of infinity of wisdom. And therefore, "the design argument" is unable to evince that the Deity is in possession of this attribute. It likewise plainly follows, from the inaptitude of this argument to show that God is omnipresent, that thereby we cannot prove infinity of power to belong to him. For if the argument cannot make out that the being it discovers is everywhere present, how can it ever make out that He is every-

where powerful? By careful reflection, too, we may perceive that omnipotence of another kind than power which can exert itself in all places, requires the existence of immensity.' The design argument 'can never evince that God is a free agent. . . . . If we cannot prove the immensity or omnipresence of the Deity, we can for that reason never show that he is omniscient, that he is omnipotent, that he is entirely free. . . . . If the Deity cannot be proved to be of infinity in any given respect, it would be nothing less than absurd to suppose that he could be proved to be of infinity in any other respect.' It 'can do no more than prove that at the commencement of the phenomena which pass under its review, there existed a cause exactly sufficient to make the effects begin to be. That this cause existed from eternity, the reasonings from experience by no means show. Nay, for aught they make known, the designer himself may not have existed long before those marks of design which betoken his workmanship.' This reasoning 'cannot prove that the God whom it reveals has existed from all eternity, therefore, for anything it intimates, God may at some time cease to be, and the workmanship may have an existence when the workman hath fallen into annihilation. . . Such reasonings can never assure us of the unity of the Deity.' 'Whether there be one God or not, the argument from experience doth by no means make clear. It discovers marks of design in the

phenomena of nature, and infers the existence of at least one intelligent substance sufficient to produce them. Further, however, it advances not our knowledge. Whether the cause of the phenomena be one God or many Gods, it pretends not to determine past all doubt. . . . . But did this designer create the matter in which the design appeared? Of this the argument cannot convince us, for it does no more than infer a designing cause from certain appearances, in the same way as we would infer from finding some well-contrived machine in a desert, that a human being had left it there. . . . . Now, because this reasoning cannot convince us of such a creation, it cannot convince us there is not a plurality of deities, or of the causes of things. . . . . If we cannot prove the eternity of God, it is not possible we can prove the unity of God. To say that, for anything we know to the contrary, he may have existed from all eternity, being much the same as saying that, for anything we know to the contrary, there may be another God or many Gods beside.' Sir W. Hamilton considered that the only valid arguments for the existence of a God, and for the immortality of the human soul, rest on the ground of man's moral nature.

"Dr. Lyman Beecher issued, some few years since, a series of lectures on Atheism, without merit or fairness, and which are here only alluded to as fairly illustrating a certain class of orthodox opposition. His statements of Atheistic opinions are monstrous

perversions, and his answers are directed against the straw man built together by himself. The doctrine of 'almighty chance,' which Dr. Beecher attacks, is one which I never heard an educated Atheist teach, and the misrepresentation of Free-thought objects is so obvious, that it can only be effectual with those who have never freed themselves from the trammels which habit and fashion-faith bound upon them in their infancy, and which have strengthened with their growth. The Rev. J. Orr, in his 'Treatise on Theism,' says, 'All inquiry about chance is, however, impertinent in the present day. The idea is an infantine one, possible of entertainment only in the initial state of human knowledge. Chance is *not* the position relied upon by modern Atheism. And when, therefore, the Theist expends the artillery of his argument upon this broken-down and obsolete notion, he is intermeddling with the dead, and after accomplishing the destruction of the venerable fallacy, the modern Atheist will likely ask him to come down to the nineteenth century, and meet him there.'

"The only attempt at argument in Dr. Beecher's book is founded on the assumption—1st, That there is an existence called matter. 2nd, That there are certain effects perceivable which cannot result from matter. 3rd, That therefore there is a God the cause for these effects. Where are there any Materialists who accept Dr. Beecher's limitation of matter? It is a word I do not use myself.

"On the question of evil, Coleridge, in his 'Aids to Reflection,' says:—'1st, That evil must have had a beginning, since otherwise it must either be God, or a co-eternal and co-equal rival with God. 2nd, That it could not originate in God; for if so, it would at once be evil and not evil, or God would be at once God—that is, infinite goodness—and not God.' If God be infinite goodness, can evil exist at all? It is necessary above all that we should understand the meaning of each word we use. Some men talk as if their words were intended rather to conceal than to express their ideas. So far as this essay is concerned, I will endeavour to avoid this difficulty by explicitly defining each special word I use. Dugald Stewart, indeed, says, 'That there are many words used in philosophical discourse which do not admit of logical definition, is abundantly manifest. This is the case with all those words that signify things uncompounded, and consequently unsusceptible of analysis—a proposition, one should think, almost self-evident; and yet it is surprising how very generally it has been overlooked by philosophers.'

"The advantages, however, accruing from frequent definitions are very great; at the least they serve to explain what was meant by the persons using the word, whereas sometimes two men confuse each word by using words to which each attaches an opposite or a dissimilar value.

"Men will talk of 'First Cause,' and 'Intelligent

First Cause.' Do they know what they mean? I confess I do not, and from the manner in which they use the words, the most charitable conclusion is that they use them because others have done so, and for no worse or better reason. They talk of the 'Beauties of Creation,' and 'Works of the Great Creator.' If by creation is meant the origin of existence, then each utterance of the phrase is an absurdity. The human mind is utterly incapable of construing it in thought as possible that the complement of existence has either been increased or diminished. Man can neither conceive nothing becoming something, or something becoming nothing.

"Definitions.—1, By existence, or substance, I mean that which is in itself and is conceived *per se*—that is, the conception of which does not require the conception of anything else as antecedent to it. Whenever I use the words universe or matter, I use them in the same sense as representing the totality of existence. Existence can only be known in its modes, and these by their attributes. 2, By attribute, I understand that by which I cognize any mode of existence. Hardness, brightness, colour, life, form, &c., are attributes of conditioned existence. 3, By mode, I understand each cognized condition or accident of existence. 4, By eternity, I mean indefinite duration; that is, duration which is to me illimitable. 5, By infinity, I mean indefinite extension. The axioms, so far as I shall give them, are in the precise language

of Spinoza. '1, Everything which is, is in itself, or in some other thing. 2, That which cannot be conceived through another *per aliud*, must be conceived *per se*. 3, From a given determinate cause, the effect necessarily follows; and *vice versâ*, if no determinate cause be given, no effect can follow. 4, The knowledge of an effect depends on a knowledge of the cause, and includes it. 5, Things that have nothing in common with each other, cannot be understood by means of each other—that is, the conception of one does not involve the conception of the other.'

"PROPOSITIONS.—Existence is prior to its modes. This follows from definitions 1 and 3, because modes of existence are conceived relatively and in dependence on existence, which is absolutely precedent in such conception. Existences having different attributes have nothing in common with each other. This is founded on definition 1. Existences having nothing in common with each other, cannot be the cause of, or affect one another. If they have nothing in common, they cannot be conceived by means of each other (*per* axiom 5), and they cannot be conceived as relating to each other, but must be conceived *per se* (*per* definition 1); and as (*per* axiom 4) the knowledge of an effect depends on the knowledge of the cause and includes it, it is impossible to conceive any existence as an effect, so long as you cannot conceive it in relation to any other existence. By 'cause' in the absolute, I mean 'existence.' In its popular or

relative sense, I use 'cause' as an effect of some precedent causative influence, itself the cause of some consequent effect, as the means towards an end, in the accomplishment of which end it completes itself.

"What fact is there so certain that I may base all my reasonings upon it? My existence is this primary fact—this, to me, indubitable certainty. I am. This logic can neither prove nor disprove. The very nature of proof is to make a proposition more clear to the mind than it was before, and no amount of evidence can increase my conviction of the certainty of my own existence. I do not affirm that I am in existence, but I affirm that there is existence. This existence is either eternal, that is, unlimited in duration, that is, indefinite in duration; or else it had a beginning, that is, it has been created. If created, then such creation must be by some existence the same as itself, or by some existence differing from itself. But it cannot have been created by any existence the same as itself, because to imagine such, would be to conceive no more than a continuance of the same existence—there would be no discontinuity. 'But,' says S. T. Coleridge, 'where there is no discontinuity, there can be no origination.' And it cannot have been created by any existence differing from itself, because things which have nothing in common with one another, cannot be the cause of, or affect one another. Therefore this existence has not been created, that is, its duration is indefinite—that is, you cannot conceive

a beginning—that is, it is eternal. This eternal existence is either infinite in extent, that is, is unlimited in extent, or it is finite, that is, limited. If limited, it must be limited by an existence the same as itself, or by an existence differing from itself. But the same arguments which applied to a limitation of duration, also apply to a limitation of extension. Therefore, this existence is unlimited in extent; that is, is infinite and eternal—that is, there is only one existence. It is at this point that Atheism separates from Pantheism. Pantheism demonstrates one existence, but affirms for it infinite attributes. Atheism denies that attributes can be infinite. Attributes are but the distinguishing characteristics of modes, and how can that be infinite which is only the quality of finity? Men do not talk of infinite hardness or of infinite softness; yet they talk of infinite intelligence. Intelligence is not an existence, and the word is without value unless it strictly comprehend, and is included in, that which is intelligent. The hardness of the diamond, the brilliancy of the burnished steel, have no existence apart from the diamond or the steel. I, in fact, affirm that there is only one existence, and that all we take cognizance of is mode, or attribute of mode, of that existence.

"I have carefully abstained from using the words 'matter' and 'spirit.' Dr. Priestley says:—'It has generally been supposed that there are *two distinct kinds of substance* in human nature, and they have

been distinguished by the terms *matter*, and *spirit* or *mind*. The former of these has been said to be possessed of the property of *extension*—viz., of length, breadth, and thickness, and also of *solidity* or impenetrability, and consequently of a *vis inertiæ;* but it is said to be naturally destitute of all other powers whatever. The latter has of late been defined to be a substance entirely destitute of all extension, or relation to space, so as to have no property in common with matter; and therefore to be properly *immaterial*, but to be possessed of the powers of perception, intelligence, and self-motion. Matter is alleged to be that kind of substance of which our bodies are composed, whereas the principle of perception and thought belonging to us is said to reside in a spirit or immaterial principle, intimately united to the body; while higher orders of intelligent beings, and especially the *Divine Being*, are said to be purely immaterial. It is maintained that neither matter nor spirit (meaning by the latter the subject of sense and thought) correspond to the definitions above mentioned. For that matter is not that *inert* substance that it has been supposed to be; that powers of *attraction* or *repulsion* are necessary to its very being, and that no part of it appears to be *impenetrable* to other parts; I therefore define it to be a substance possessed of the property of extension, and powers of attraction or repulsion; and since it has never yet been asserted that the powers of *sensation* and *thought* are incompatible with

these (*solidity* or *impenetrability*, and, consequently, a *vis inertiæ*, only having been thought to be repugnant to them), I therefore maintain that we have no reason to suppose that there are in man two substances so distinct from each other as have been represented. It is likewise maintained that the notion of two substances that have no common property, and yet are capable of intimate connexion and mutual action, is absurd.'

"I do not conceive *spirit* or *mind* as an existence. By the word *mind*, I simply express the totality of perception, observation, collection, and recollection of perceptions, reflection, and various other mental processes. Dugald Stewart, in his 'Essay on Locke,' says:—'We are conscious of sensation, thought, desire, volition, but we are not conscious of the existence of the mind itself.'

"It is urged that the idea of God is universal. This is not only not true, but I, in fact, deny that any coherent idea exists in connexion with the word 'God.' The chief object to which the emotions of any people were directed in ancient times became their God. When these emotions were combined with vague traditions, and a priesthood became interested in handing down the traditions, and increasing the emotions, then the object becoming sacred was hallowed and adored, and uncertain opinions formed the basis of a creed. Any prominent phenomenon in the universe, which was not understood, was personi-

fied, as were also the various passions and phases of humanity. These, in time, were preached as religious truths, and thus diverted the people from inquiry into the natural causes of phenomena, which they accounted for as ordained by God; and when famine or pestilence occurred, instead of endeavouring to remove its cause or using preventive measures against a recurrence of the evil, they sought to discover why the supernatural power was offended, and how it might be appeased, and ascribing to it their own passions and emotions, they offered prayers and sacrifices. These errors becoming institutions of the country, the people, prompted by their priests, regarded all those who endeavoured to overturn them by free and scientific thought and speech as blasphemers, and the Religion of each state has, therefore, always been opposed to the education of the people.

"Archbishop Whately, in his 'Elements of Rhetoric,' part 1, chap. ii., sect. 5, urges that 'those who represent God or Gods as malevolent, capricious, or subject to human passions and vices, are invariably to be found amongst those who are brutal and uncivilized.' We admit this, but ask is it not the fact that both the Old and New Testament teachings do represent God as malevolent, capricious, and subject to human passions and vices—that is, are not these Bible views of God relics of a brutal and uncivilized people?

"There is, of course, not room in a short essay like the present to say much upon the morality of Atheism, and it should therefore suffice to say, that truth and morality go hand in hand. That that is moral which tends to the permanent happiness of all. The continuance of falsehood never can result in permanent happiness; and therefore if Atheism be truthful, it must be moral; if it be against falsehood, it must tend to human happiness.

"Yet if quoting great names will have effect, Lord Bacon, who is often quoted against Atheism, also says: 'Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation, all of which may be guides to an outward moral virtue, *though religion were not;* but superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the mind of men; therefore Atheism never did perturb states, for it makes men wary of themselves, as looking no further; and we see the times inclined to Atheism—as the times of Augustus Cæsar—were civil times; but superstition has been the confusion of many states.' George Combe says: 'I have known men in whom the reasoning organs were amply developed and well cultivated, who assured me that they could not reach the conviction of the being of a God. I have known such men equal in point of integrity and practical benevolence to the most orthodox believers.' In the West Riding of Yorkshire, amongst the men themselves, a wealthy employer bore favourable testimony

to the conduct and intelligence of Atheistic working men. Nay, even the fanatical Dr. Lyman Beecher is obliged to concede that Atheism made converts amongst 'females of education and refinement—females of respectable standing in society.'"

Outside in Old Street there were people distributing Christian tracts, and the Golden Lane Mission had got the words "God is Love" in gas jets above the door, to attract people *en route* to the Hall of Science. At the Beckford's Head public-house close by, an enterprising gentleman gave Shakspearian readings gratuitously every Sunday evening; but the Hall of Science was full and enthusiastic, and surely must present itself to the regards of the Christian Evidence Society as crying out, in the language of the Man of Macedonia, "Come over and help us!" One of the most extraordinary phenomena of this age is that, with an expensively officered society, Mr. Bradlaugh, who pluckily invites argument, should be left to the well-meant but puny efforts of Messrs. Jenkins and Williams.

THE LITERATURE OF INFIDELITY.

I WAS riding home in the Underground Railway after service on Ash Wednesday evening, when the talk fell on Lenten duties in general, and on subjects of Lent study and meditation in particular. We were several in party; and one proposed this, another that. The London Mission had ended the day before, and had set us all more or less thinking, when I resolved, under excellent advice, to take up as a definite study during Lent, God willing, the subject of Modern Unbelief, especially in London, where my own lot was cast. I had commenced the study, and indeed written about it elsewhere in a fragmentary and desultory way; but now I would try to make my study a systematic one. This much, at least, the Mission had taught us, that we could no longer afford to stand aloof from any form of sin, and say that it did not concern us. If Father Prescott gathered the *habituées* of the Argyll Rooms to listen to him in S. Peter's, Windmill Street; and Father Steele, of S. Thomas's, Regent Street, not content with doing the same, went out into the alleys and compelled them to come in, surely it was not competent for any Christian clergyman to say that his hands would be soiled by

contact with the refined infidelity of London; no longer, be it remembered, the coarse, vulgar type of a century since, but polished, argumentative, often tender and courteous; but on those very accounts surely the more insidious, surely the more imperatively demanding the very best attentions of those who would study the signs of the times.

I have often made my friends—good, timid, narrow-minded people—lift up their hands in blank dismay when I told them that I joined the London Dialectical Society, and sat patiently once a week during two years on their committee for the investigation of Modern Spiritualism. The motto of the Dialecticians is, that they accept nothing except as the conclusion of a logical argument. The tone taken in reference to Modern Spiritualism was this: That its miracles were better attested than those of the Bible, because they appealed to the evidence of the senses, and claimed something like demonstration; while the sacred miracles must be accepted on the written testimony of a Book, whose authenticity (so ran their Socratic logic) was very doubtful. I thought it was just as well to hear all they had to say—and they had a very great deal to say—on this and many other matters; and I am sincerely glad that I laid aside my clerical starch and joined their circle.

In the same way I proposed, during the Lent of 1874, to attend as many of the atheistical, infidel, and free-thinking meetings in London as I could, and also

look in upon those republican gatherings which are always so closely associated therewith, as though the two commands "Fear God" and "Honour the king" had really a very close connexion one with the other. I, as an individual, resolved to do what the Christian Evidence Society had done in their corporate capacity, namely, to visit personally the headquarters of Unbelief in London, and gather what was to be heard and seen there. As a guide to my footsteps (for I was profoundly ignorant of the geography of Infidel London), I went to 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, and bought the *National Reformer* of the current week. I passed to Mr. Truelove's, the publisher's, at 256, Holborn Bars, the office of the *Sunday League*, and invested sixpence in the *Secular Almanac*, turning in *en route* at a shop in the Strand to buy for a penny that which has been truly described as a "a most alarming sheet," the *Republican Herald.* Armed with these, I could, at all events, find my way about for awhile.

A mere description of these organs will perhaps give as good a general idea of the ramifications of London infidelity as we could desire. The *National Secular Almanac*, edited by Charles Bradlaugh and Austin Holyoake, gives, under the guise of an innocent calendar, a very complete account of the Secularist body and its principles, throwing in occasionally a lighter leaflet or two in the way of *bon-mots* which, from a religious point of view, would be considered

decidedly profane. The book, in fact, is a clever organ of secular propagandism. I am not complaining of this. Respectable insurance offices issue "Year Books," covering, under a similar veil of light literature and an almanac, advertisements of their own claims on public attention. Mr. Lynes, the merchant-tailor of Shoreditch, issues from time to time a veritable magazine to which authors of established repute contribute, but whose pages are designed to promote the spread of Messrs. Lynes's "Kensington suits." Why should not Messrs. Bradlaugh and Holyoake do the same? They are intensely earnest, and verily believe that the promotion of their opinions would hasten the Millennium, which, being translated into secular language, means the "good time coming."

The volume consists of seventy pages, only one dozen of which are devoted to the almanac and kindred topics, such as eclipses, &c., and, even in the almanac, most of the days are described in their reference to some secular hero, as, for instance; "January 29. Thomas Paine, republican, born 1737." "February 16. George Odger polled 4382 votes for Southwark. 1870." "June 29. Jean Jacques Rousseau born 1712;" and so on. Then we merge at once into a "Retrospect of Secular Progress," and the kindred "Republican Movement." Mr. Francis Neale tells us "What Secularism is;" Mr. Austin Holyoake writes "In favour of Atheism;" Mr. Maccall describes "Pantheism" for us; and then follows more

purely literary matter, occasionally breaking out in the form of poetry. Padding takes the shape of a verbatim report of the debate on International Arbitration, and the whole winds up with an ode which is too curious to be omitted :—

IMPROVED SECULAR NATIONAL ANTHEM—"SAVE OUR NATIVE LAND."

(DEDICATED TO ARTHUR TREVELYAN BY THE AUTHOR.)

TUNE—"*God Save the Queen.*"

O! save our Native Land!
Prosper fair Freedom's band—
Prosper and bless;
Make them victorious,
Happy and glorious,
That long may reign over us
Concord and Peace!

Friends of the People! rise,
Instruct our enemies—
Make falsehood fall!
Confound bad politics,
Frustrate all knavish tricks,
On Justice our hopes we fix—
Truth save us all!

Perish vile slavery,
Priestcraft and knavery—
Hypocrisy cease!
In amity then we'll join,
Commerce and Art shall shine,
Knowledge and Truth divine
Widely increase!

Champions of Freedom! stand
Firm in your native land!
Thus flows the strain;

Guarded by Truth and Light,
Virtue and Honour bright,
May Freedom and equal Right
Triumphant reign!

Prior Hall, Northumberland,
May 20, 1830.

GEORGE SNOWBALL,
Tenant Farmer.

Among the advertisements stitched up with the almanac is one of the "Secularist's Manual," which bears strange evidence to man's necessity for *some* ceremonies at the crises of his life. Among the contents we find "Secular Ceremonies.—The Naming of Infants; A Marriage Service; and a Burial Service," all by Austin Holyoake. Mr. Holyoake seems to stand in much the same relation to Secularism which Comte during the later portion of his life did to Positivism. He was its High Priest in everything but name.

The chief attraction in my eyes, however, was that the volume gave me the names of some twenty places in London where I could go and see Secularism at work, as I have done. Thirty-six provincial towns were deemed of sufficient importance to have their secularist institutions chronicled herein; and there was, moreover, a list added of three metropolitan and sixteen provincial republican clubs. A few of the London haunts were previously known to me, such as the "Hall of Science," the "Positive School," and "South Place Chapel;" but I learned for the first time of the "United Secularists' Propagandist Society," the "Eleusis Club," the "Minerva Club,"

the "Advanced Unitarian Church," and several others, which I set down for instant anatomization.

Then I proceeded to regale myself with my *National Reformer*, which I found well written and well edited, and with very unmistakable evidences throughout of the genius of Mr. Bradlaugh, who had just returned from his American tour. It would be the greatest mistake possible for Christians to depreciate their foe, or pretend to look down on Secularism. It is to correct this mistake—to give Christians some idea, at all events, of the dimensions of the system with which they venture to make war, that is among my chief objects in writing these papers. It is all very well for Orthodoxy to hold up its hands and say it is wicked to go among "these people;" but unless somebody goes among them, how are those Christian gentlemen who sit at home in ease to know anything at all of what "these people" are like?

There I learned, too, somewhat more in detail, the sort of entertainment provided on Sundays at the various places of meeting whose names I had as yet only seen chronicled. At the Hackney Secularist Association a debate had been opened on the "Justifiability of Suicide," an announcement being added that, on the following Sunday, the subject would be "What has Christianity done to benefit Mankind?" At the Advanced Unitarian Church and Theological Discussion Society "Sacrifices and Sacraments" were

demolished. The Hall of Science devoted itself to the well-worn subject of Thomas Paine's Life, with an "ovation" to Mr. Bradlaugh, who had just returned from the United States; though many of the institutions had not got over the election fever, and were more given up to political than religious, or irreligious, matters.

I reserved the "alarming sheet" as my *bonne bouche* for the last; and well indeed the *Republican Herald* deserved such an honour. The quality of the spice with which their journal is flavoured may be inferred from the following extracts, which are curious and appropriate in this connexion as each emanating from clergymen of the Established Church:—

"THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

"My own experience of the Established Church, which has been varied and considerable, has irresistibly led me to the conclusion that this Church is dead, and must be buried. Indeed, I have been driven to the conviction that the whole state of Christendom, involving all the old orthodoxies, with the feelings, hopes, and conduct to which they are akin, are devoid of true spiritual life, and must, therefore, be put entirely away. As from the Established Church of England, which is identical in its fundamental doctrine with the Church of Rome, the voluntary Churches which go by the name of Christian, have in a great measure taken their cue, I shall, by laying

bare the evil and benighted condition of the English ecclesiastical Establishment, at the same time be exhibiting the false and uncharitable character of the other so-called Christian sects in this and other countries.

"A Church, or dispensation, of spiritual life and light, like every other finite thing, has its rise, progress, culmination, and gradual decay, till it reaches its close, when it is succeeded by a new Church, or new spiritual state which is opened in those who are fitted to receive it. This was the case with the Jewish Church. This, too, is now the case with the first Christian Church. It was distinguished by attachment to the person of Jesus Christ, and by a life in accordance with His verbal directions. It flourished in the simple charity and mutual helpfulness of its members. In the face of earthly powers and persecutions it grew and multiplied, extending its sway solely by the power of good example and the simple truths which it taught. It had begun to decline when, in the beginning of the 4th century, it consented to become an instrument in the hands of the State. The process of degeneracy went on till its chief officer assumed the power of the keys, teaching that he had the prerogative of opening and closing heaven, and of dooming to eternal perdition those whom he denounced as the enemies of the loving God. Wars were undertaken in the name of religion, and the priesthood became the central corrupters of mankind. The Reformation, in the 16th century,

exposed in some measure the wickedness of the Church, and, by dividing the priestly power, in some measure weakened it, but it did little if anything for the reformation of religion itself. The good which resulted was owing to the freedom which then became possible to minds of a certain temper, unwilling to yield implicitly to priestly authority. But the decay of the Church went on, and the first unmistakable indication of its death was presented by the French Revolution, when priests threw off the mask, declaring that for years they had been infidels, hardly able to preserve a decent solemnity of countenance during the celebration of the prescribed services, and the people revelled in the slaughter of their fellow men. In England, Catholics in power persecuted the Protestants, and Protestants, when they were able, persecuted the Catholics. The Puritans in the days of Cromwell persecuted the Episcopalians, and dealt so hardly by the Friends that George Fox predicted that God would overthrow the followers of Cromwell and bring back the Episcopalians into power, as the latter were less cruel than the former. The Puritans, who had their noses slit and their ears cut off by the Royalists, fleeing to America for a new home, there cut off the ears and slit the noses of Friends because they could not compel them to think as they themselves thought. Episcopalians and Presbyterians treated each other with equal barbarity. When that which had been intended as a blessing to mankind

had evidently been converted into a curse, and when in England, as elsewhere, this corrupted and perverted religion was established and endowed by the State, as it still is, it is as clear as anything can be that the breath of life has departed from the Church.

"The division of the Godhead into three persons; the sufferings and death of the second person to appease the wrath and satisfy the offended justice of the first person, who, because of Adam's transgression, was supposed to have turned away His face in displeasure from His own children, and to have been minded to destroy or torment them for ever in hell; justification by faith alone in the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, as needed for the salvation of the sinner, is to reconcile God to him, which if he possessed, he would, quite irrespective of his own mental and practical character, be regarded by the Almighty as clothed with the perfect righteousness of Christ, and consequently meet for the Kingdom of Heaven—these, viz., tri-personalism, Divine vindictiveness and substitution, are the essentials of the Established Church, as they are of the Roman Church, and of all the old Christian denominations in the world. Now, to hide the immorality and hideousness of this doctrine from the eyes of the laity, it has been feigned and taught that good works as necessarily spring from this faith as good fruit is brought forth by a good tree. But as man cannot add to a Divinely finished work—as he cannot amend or supplement the free gift conferred

by the grace or favour of God, as it is impossible for him to improve the work of the Holy Spirit, nay, should he even think of doing any good thing for the sake of God, or his own soul, or eternal life, he would, as the doctrine runs, by his blindness, presumption, or ingratitude, profane the work of Christ, and thus sin against God—it may be easily seen what is the character of these good works. Salvation according to orthodoxy, is secured without them; in respect to religion, they are, therefore, not good, they can, therefore, only be accounted good in securing worldly advantages; and it thus becomes indisputable that they never would have been mentioned at all in this connexion, but as a veil to screen from the public eye the real nature of justification by faith alone, which in reality justifies every description of injustice, thus blaspheming God and degrading man. These doctrines are the all in all of the fallen Church. If consistency were duly observed, nothing else would ever be preached as necessary to salvation. Besides these doctrines, which are sufficient to convict the Established Church of degradation and benightedness, there are other tenets which set all sober reason at defiance and are antagonistic to wise benevolence. Amongst these may be enumerated the doctrines of an almost omnipotent devil, who disputes with God for sovereignty over men's souls and has a delight in torturing the lost in hell, multitudes believing he will torture them there for ever; of death

being a punishment inflicted by the Almighty upon every one for the disobedience of Adam; of the resurrection of the rejected body, no one knows when; all the departed beings in the meantime without eyes to see with, ears to hear with, hands to handle with, and feet to walk with; of the general judgment at the last day in this world, and then of the destruction by fire of the world itself. Besides all this, according to orthodoxy, only one profession is holy, one day in the week is the Lord's day, one house in a parish is God's house, one piece of ground only is holy ground, one set of services alone are services rendered to Almighty God, and one book only is the sacred Scripture. Viewing so much as unholy, with which nevertheless men have to do, it is not wonderful that the spirit of unholiness or injustice should be so prevalent even amongst those who are called Christians. One of the Articles of the Church of England teaches that it is lawful for Christian men at the commandment of the magistrate to wear weapons and serve in the wars. If this be not murderous teaching —in direct opposition to the true Christian teaching of forbearance, forgiveness, and charity; that charity which commands us to return good for evil, and so overcome evil by good, the only means by which it can ever be effectually overcome—language has no definite meaning, and the human understanding can never be a fair interpreter of words.

"Now, it has been stated that when an old state of

religious faith and life comes to an end, a new state is always raised up by Divine Providence, man's destiny in this world being discipline for a better. And beneath all the theological confusion observable within the Established Church, as well as beyond it, there is a seed of better things. The reform which underlies every other reform, and which is the source from which every other true reform springs, is religious reform. The best of the clergy, and the best and most thoughtful in all classes, are losing more and more their hold upon the old tenets. The sharp-headed artisans of our large towns are, in a great measure, too intelligent to believe in an angry God, a tri-personal Deity, salvation by substitution, and an endless hell. Yet we should come to a wrong conclusion if we thought or said they were all without religion. It is the New Church within them and others, the Church of genuine faith and love, faith in the will of the Good God as revealed in individual conscience, and practical love for all God's children, which has destroyed their faith in the old Church, and will compass the overthrow of the Established Church of England, and of all other worn out sectarian organizations. It is this new religious life, this new-born love of justice and true brotherhood, which is showing men more and more that the Established Church is simply a corrupt department of a corrupt State; that it is a political injustice to all Nonconformists; that it is a huge barrier to progress, and

that for religion's sake, and the State's sake, it must be entirely swept away.

"Sometime ago a very celebrated member of the Cabinet asked me if I would not again resume my ministry in the Established Church. My reply was, 'No. If England were a truly religious country there could not be an Established Church in it.' He said, with a grave look, 'Well, that is my way of thinking.' The other day a brother clergyman put a similar question to me. The answer I gave was this—'If the Church were disestablished and the Act of Uniformity repealed, so that I could keep my conscience clear, then I should be very glad to minister again.' But such ministry would be that of the New Church; of service to God in service to mankind.

"In reality the Church and the State are inseparably and eternally one. The people in their spiritual capacity are the Church, and the same people in their political capacity are the State. The Church is the soul of which the State is the body. The Church is within and above the State, as the human soul is in and above the human body. The State derives its quality from the Church, as the body its quality from the soul. Then, as is the Church such must be the State. Were the Church pure and noble, the State would be pure and noble too. When the Church is of a mixed character, the State must have a mixed character. When the Church is dead, the State is dead also. It is only when there is no Church within to

inspire, and mould, and lead the State, that the State sets up, endows, and controls an ecclesiasticism which it misnames the Church, and which it uses chiefly to school the people into obedience to the civil power, irrespective of its character. Accordingly we find clergymen, as a rule, the greatest aid and abettors of every cruel law and of every political abuse.

"I must beg the reader's kind indulgence for all the imperfections with which I am persuaded this article, as a literary production, must abound; for I am so hurried that I have not time to re-write, amend, or polish a single sentence. I present it as it is; only asking for it that earnest consideration which the subject undoubtedly demands, and that practical fidelity to the lesson it contains which is necessary for the removal of the Established Church and many cognate evils, and for the growth and development of that New Church of spiritual truth and goodness which is necessary to purify and bless the outward, social, and political life of mankind.

"WILLIAM HUME-ROTHERY.

"Merton Lodge, Tivoli, Cheltenham."

The second is poetical in shape:—

PIOUS MINSTRELSY.

BY A PROGRESSIVE PARSON.

OUR PATRON SAINTS.

Great Simon! It's not St. Peter I mean,
Nor Stylites, piously unclean,
But one who from Thames to Tagus,

Owns empire of a wider scope,
Object of every church's hope,
The cynosure of prelate and pope—
  Adored St. Simon Magus!

Come—to my impecunious self
Teach thy lessons of holy pelf;
  Nestorian or Pelagian—
Whatever be my heretical drift,
My bishop I know will give me shrift,
If I only study the law of thrift
  And turn out a Simon-Magian!

Oft have I sought a slice of fat
From my lord in apron and shovel-hat,
  When some swell, inside an all-rounder,
Has raised his voice my claim above,
Getting more for money than I for love,
Slipping as into his lavender glove,
  To my lord's ten thousand pounder.

That, as the ball commercial rolls,
Is the price of a London "cure of souls,"
  But, alas! I cannot try money;
While this more adventurous clerical gent
Knows the true episcopal bent
And borrowing money at sixty per cent.
  So shaves the edges of Simony.

Come to my aid, auriferous saint,
Bring me money to aid my plaint,
  Or a war unequal wage I;
Even in Sacred legends we're told
How livings of yore were bought and sold,
For were there not heaps of glittering gold
  In the gifts of adoring Magi?

Come Iscariot, lord of the money-bag,
Saint of the apostolic swag,
  Then, stretched beneath the *fagus*,
I may spend the rest of my pious days
Singing ever thy saintship's praise,
And studying all the pleasant ways
  Of thyself and St. Simon-Magus.

High in episcopal regard,
When death shall waft me to my reward
  In swift celestial chariot,
Up shall I soar to the asphodel wold,
By the glassy sea with its sands of gold,
And eternity spend in bliss untold
  With Magus and Iscariot!

Perhaps this latter extract had more attraction for me, through my having just lost my curacy, after a six years' tenure, in consequence of the living having been sold!

To excuse is to accuse one's self, I repeat. I am quite sure that some persons will quote the old proverb, "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise." But is ignorance *ever* bliss? Is it ever folly to be wise? These sheets are being sown broadcast on the metropolis. Is it any good to sit down and shut our eyes; and then, one of these days, helplessly wonder at the crop of tares? *Quieta non movere* has been too long our policy; and now we have to lay on missions, and employ all sorts of special machinery to combat influences we can no longer ignore. It is surely better to learn the strength of our opponents, and measure our own against it. And how can this be done without employing that disagreeable but most necessary instrumentality, a spy in the camp?

THE RITUAL OF INFIDELITY.

It has always struck me as the most marvellous concession, not only to man's need of religion, but of the necessity of outward forms to express that religion, when Comte, the founder of Positivism, in his later days, and after being saddened by sorrow, became a sort of high priest of his own system, and overlaid what was before the most unsymbolic creed with a culture more elaborate than the Roman itself. So too is it with that kindred system which really differs from Positivism only in name—Secularism. Since it foregoes everything in the shape of a creed, one would not expect to find anything like ritual attaching to it; in fact, I doubt not but that the title of this paper will seem at first to some persons to involve a contradiction of terms. It is not so, however; Secularism, though without a creed, has, illogically enough, a ritual. It differs, as might be expected, from all that we signify by the name as widely as Secularism itself differs from Christianity; and the diversity here is polar.

Adopting my plan—the fairness of which none can question—to let those whose opinions I am describing speak for themselves, I find Mr. Francis Neale thus portraying and defending Secularism:—

"Secularism may be briefly defined as the science of this life—the philosophy of the present existence. Secularism is a religion without superstition—a theology the divinity of which is humanity. It teaches a man how to live without dependence on a God, and how to die without the fear of a devil. It instructs him how to prosper without a Providence, how to live happily without a priest, how to be moral without a Bible, how to be useful without theological belief. It asserts the possibility of a Paradise without the necessity of an ascension, and thinks salvation attainable without the blood of the 'Lamb.'

"Secularism devotes itself to the present existence entirely, the improvement of which it is its mission to attempt. Should there be another existence, then it holds that he is the more fitted to enter upon it who has done his utmost to make the best of this.

"Secularism does not say there is not a future state, nor does it say there is. On this subject men have been long and hopelessly disagreed, and in the absence of conclusive evidence on either side, Secularism does not presume to dogmatize or decide. But Secularism points to the present existence, about which there can be no doubt, difference, or dispute, and asks its adherents to attend to this in preference to longing, waiting, watching, praying, and sighing for another, which, after all, may never come. Of this life we are certain; no one in his senses can dispute its reality, its significance, its importance. We know it, can feel it, can

enjoy it, can appreciate it, with a keenness no logic, no sophistry, can dull or destroy. But of another life we are not so certain; at the best it is but a matter of probability, of faith, of hope, of belief."

It seems difficult to see how, on such grounds, there can be anything like a confederation or society of Secularists. Its very eclecticism seems to involve isolation. Such, however, is again not the case. Secularists are better than their principles, and have not forfeited altogether their character as social beings. Witness the following:—

"PRINCIPLES OF THE NATIONAL SECULAR SOCIETY.

"This Association declares (1) that the promotion of Human Improvement and Happiness is the highest duty.

"2. That the theological teachings of the world have been, and are, most powerfully obstructive of human improvement and happiness; human activity being guided and increased by a consciousness of the facts of existence; while it is misjudged and impeded in the most mischievous manner when the intellect is warped or prostrated by childish and absurd superstitions.

"3. That in order to promote effectually the improvement and happiness of mankind, every individual of the human family ought to be well placed and well instructed, and all who are of a suitable

age ought to be usefully employed for their own and the general good.

"4. That human improvement and happiness cannot be effectually promoted without civil and religious liberty; and that therefore it is the duty of every individual—a duty to be practically recognised by every member of this Association—to actively attack the barriers to equal freedom of thought and utterance for all upon political and theological subjects.

"The admission of members is in the discretion of the Executive, subject to appeal to a general meeting, and any lady or gentleman desiring to be admitted, must sign the form printed on the next page.

"The *National Reformer* is the recognised organ of the Society, and all advertisements, &c., of the Society appear therein.

"The chief place of meeting of the Society is at the New Hall of Science, a central position, where friends from the country will find a comfortable place at which they may obtain refreshments, and where they may have their letters sent.

"The members are either active or passive.

"The active list consists of those who do not object to the publication of their names as members of the National Secular Society. An active member's duty is to send, as often as possible, reliable reports to the President of the doings of the local clergy, of special events, sermons, lectures, or publications, affecting

secular progress. He should also aid in the circulation of secular literature, and generally in the free-thought propaganda of his neighbourhood. Where a local society exists, he ought to belong to it, whether or not it be a branch of this Society.

"The passive list consists of those whose position does not permit the publication of their names, or who do not feel able to do any active duty.

"*Form of Declaration.*

"'I declare that I am desirous of joining the National Secular Society, in order to promote the improvement and happiness of myself and my fellows. That I pledge myself to do my best, if admitted as a member, to co-operate with my fellow members to attain the objects of this Association.

"'Name .....

"'Address .....

"'Occupation .....

"'Active or Passive.' .....

"This Declaration, signed with the name and address of the candidate, being transmitted to the Secretary of the Association, Mr. David K. Fraser, 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet Street, E.C., with Threepence for a Quarter's Subscription, a Card of Membership will be issued available for three months. Any further subscription is in the discretion and according to the means of the person joining.

"*Objects.*

"The Executive of the National Secular Society, finding that the power of the free-thought body in the State is specially recognised in connexion with the political and social changes now taking place, points out to its members and friends the following matters as deserving of their earnest and active attention :—

"1. To obtain the repeal of the Blasphemy Laws as a special matter affecting its members.

"2. The disestablishment and disendowment of the State Church, and the placing all religions and forms of speculative opinion on a perfect equality before the law.

"3. Specially the improvement of the condition of the agricultural classes, whose terrible state of social degradation is at present a fatal barrier to the formation of a good state of society.

"4. A change in the Land Laws, so as to break down the present system by which enormous estates are found in few hands, the many having no interest in the soil, and to secure for the agricultural labourer some share of the improvement in the land he cultivates.

"5. The destruction of the present hereditary Chamber of Peers, and substitution of a Senate containing Life Members, elected for their fitness, and therewith the constitution of a National Party in-

tended to wrest the governing power from a few Whig and Tory families.

"6. The investigation of the causes of poverty in all old countries, in order to see how far unequal distribution of wealth or more radical causes may operate. The discussion in connexion with this of the various schemes for social amelioration, and the ascertainment if possible of the laws governing the increase of population and produce, as affecting the rise and fall of wages."

We have heard a great deal at different times—very much more than most of us probably believed—about certain "Jesuitical" tricks on the part of a particular school of thought in the Church, and how those of one branch which was unpopular, "reserved" or disguised their opinions by remaining in another section which *was* popular. Secularists especially have always been prone to talk of "wolves in sheeps' clothing;" but if this distinction into "active and passive" members be not a piece of diplomacy, to enable men to conceal their opinions, we do not know what is.

But still, so far, we find no sign of sacerdotalism, save that which the infidel falsely attributes to the believer, and is here found to be adopting full-fledged himself; nor is there any symptom of ritual. Mr. Bradlaugh has not yet, as far as we know, constituted himself Pope, Archbishop, or Grand Llama of the

Secularists; but Mr. Austin Holyoake and Mr. Watts, it appears, have. In that which Mr. Gladstone is, rightly or wrongly, said to have called "a questionable book," namely, *The Secularists' Manual,* I find something like the Rituale Holyoakense or the Hierurgia Secularis. It concedes, like Comte, the fact that man cannot live without a worship of some kind; and that, grotesque as he may elect to make it, he must have that worship. Between Fetishism and Secularism it is only a question of degree, not of kind, when once the old moorings of Revelation are abandoned.

At those solemn crises in life whose records fill so strangely the first column in our giant paper, which read so prosy and unromantic there, but are so full of that deepest of all romance, reality, then it is that, as it were instinctively, man adopts a ceremony of some kind; and it cannot but be interesting to contrast the utterances of secularism with those of theology. Do not the former read cold and dead; reminding us, in the Apostle's own words, of the "body without the soul?" From the "questionable book" above mentioned I gather the following:—

"SECULAR CEREMONIES.

"I. *The Naming of Infants.*

"BY CHARLES WATTS.

"In publicly naming the infant now before us we recognise the parents' desire to identify their offspring

with the Secular Party, which proclaims the necessity of unfettered thought during the formation of character. Diversity of organization precludes uniformity of belief; we do not, therefore, guarantee that in after life a child shall profess any particular class of opinions. But by keeping its mind free from theological creeds we enable it the better to acquire a more liberal education than is permitted by the conventional faith of the Church. During infancy the imagination frequently revels in the ideal; care should be taken, therefore, to protect the child as much as possible from the beguilements of superstition. For in the sunny days of childhood, when the heart leaps with joy, when innocence beams on the cheek, and hope sparkles in the eye—when the mind in its purest simplicity is unable to detect the snare, then the seeds are sown which in after years frequently bear unfortunate fruit. An opportunity should be given for the faculties to be fairly developed before the judgment is taxed with the mysteries and perplexities of theology. The true and the beautiful in nature should be placed before the young with a view of inspiring them with a desire to understand and appreciate the realities of life. Theological prejudice and religious bigotry prevent the realization of this object. Hence it is our duty to surround the child with influences that will enable him to avoid those evils.

"Viewing this emblem of innocence, we recognise

lineaments of love and simplicity, which are an index to the goodness of its nature. The germs of virtue are here awaiting judicious cultivation, that they may bud forth and ripen into moral fruit. Youth is impressible. The conduct of children in after life is generally a reflex of their earlier education. Encircle them with pure influences, place before them examples of integrity, foster the desire for excellence which is allied with human affections at the dawn of life, you will thereby open the avenues to the purest instincts of their nature, and knit a bond of union between them and their parents which all the turmoil of life and strife of the world will fail to sever. Seek to win the affections of children with love, not repel them with fear; inspire hope and joy, awaken not dread and despair. The infant mind is sensitive, and requires to be irradiated with smiles, not darkened with gloom. Parental indifference, harsh treatment, and cruel frowns produce stultified intellects and unpleasant dispositions; but kindness, care, and forbearance evoke intelligence and cheerfulness of conduct.

"We sincerely hope that in after life [here name the child] he [if the child be a girl, substitute the feminine gender] may have reason to rejoice in his fellowship with us. May the principles of Freethought enable him to brave successfully the battle of life. And as he sails o'er the billows of time, may experience increase his guiding power, that when

arriving at maturity he shall have acquired sufficient knowledge to enable him to regulate aright his further career. And when the evening of his existence has arrived, may he obtain consolation from the reflection that his conduct has won the approval of the wise and the good, and that to the best of his ability he has been faithful to the mission of life.

ON THE BIRTH OF AN INFANT.

Joy to thy parents, O mayst thou be found;
Peace as a halo thy pathway surround;
Duly approving and prompting thy care,
Love in its fulness fulfilling its share.

Goodness attend thee wherever thou go,
Mercy defend from the shafts of its foe;
Virtue still proving thy waymark to be—
Nothing presuming through sweetness in thee.

Sweetness resembling the flow'rets of spring,
Nurtur'd by dewdrops fresh odours to bring;
Tear-drops of pity, of feeling, of soul,
Temper with prudence, their force to control.

Sunbeams of wisdom illumine thy day;
Chase the dull meteors of folly away;
Point, as the shade on the dial will move,
How the fleet moments of time to improve.

Knowledge engage thee its wonders to scan;
Teach thee the greatness, the weakness of man!
Show thee of life, how its dangers to pass,
Show thee thyself in humility's glass.

"II. *A Marriage Ceremony.*

"By Austin Holyoake.

"We have met here to-day to perform the pleasing duty of celebrating the marriage of our two young friends, A. and B. They are entering upon a new mode of life, the paths of which may be strewn with

roses, if love and mutual respect guard the way; or with thorns, if harshness and petulance are allowed to invade the domain of the affections.

"May health, happiness, and long life await them.

"Marriage is the most momentous event in the life of both man and woman. On it depends the happiness or misery of their future. Carefully then should the inducements be weighed that impel to so important a step, that the contracting parties may be sure that love, and love alone, has prompted them to the act. Any sordid or capricious motive will speedily bring its own punishment. It is the union of hearts, not hands, that constitutes a true marriage. But while the heart should be the prime mover, the head should take care of it, or the happiness of the married couple will be a matter of accident, where it should be the result of the most careful and enlightened judgment. Marriages of mere passion are as disastrous as those of avarice or ambition.

"Marital love is necessary to the perfection of life; and the love of children springing therefrom is the purest emotion known to humanity. In the domestic affections is to be found the highest happiness, and they who fail to cultivate them lose half the joys of existence.

"Our young friends who have now entered upon the married state, must not forget that it has its duties as well as its pleasures. New responsibilities will devolve upon them, and the fittest preparation

they can make to enable them to properly meet them, will be to so order their own lives that their minds may be free from the bickerings and irritations that so constantly await ill-assorted and ill-regulated unions. The golden rule in married life is Mutual Forbearance. We must never forget that no alliance, however well designed, can ever secure perfect contentment; for it so happens that where people love most, they are apt to be most exacting one to the other. There may be a fanaticism in love as well as in belief, for affection is but the religion of the heart. As with a people the aggregate of individual virtues make up the sum of national greatness, so in domestic life the multifarious duties devolving upon each, faithfully fulfilled, make up the measure of human bliss.

"We urge each not to be the first by whom the harsh word is spoken, nor the last to offer the hand of reconciliation. Beware of jealousies, and vigilantly foster feelings of trust and loving-kindness.

"It is fervently to be hoped that the newly-married pair will prove to each other suitable companions through life, and be knit together, not only with the silken cords of affection, but with a bond that strengthens with years and brightens with age—the bond of congenial tastes and intellectual attachment. Marriage is itself an education, which schools the heart, and directs the affections in the paths of peace. A world of bliss is ever present in that household which is pervaded by the elevating and softening

influence of literature and art, which purifies love, and attunes the feelings to harmonious sympathy with all humanity.

"The names husband and wife have a charmed sound, and the married state has a halo around it that dims with its lustre all other relationships of life. Husband and wife are 'all the world to each other,' and they should strive to make their domestic hearth so pure and tranquil, that when they assume the momentous but blissful responsibilities of father and mother, they may feel sure that their children will be born under influences that shall make them dutiful and loving to their parents, and enthusiastic workers for the good of others.

"To the husband we say: Conserve and cherish the sacredness of home; make it the altar at which you worship, and be sure that domestic bliss is within the reach of all who intelligently strive to attain it. It is to be won alone by a manly yet considerate treatment of the one to whom you have dedicated your life, and who will return your affection, however lavish, with boundless interest.

"To the wife we say: Now that you have won a woman's greatest prize, a loving heart, guard it with zealous care, nor ever let the storm of anger rise to wither true affection with its fiery breath. In attaining the consummation of all the gentler feelings which animate a woman's breast, never forget that love, unaccompanied by true companionship, soon droops

and perishes under the chilling influence of uncongeniality of mind.

"To husband and wife we say: So live, that when the evening of life arrives, secure in the affection of children and friends, you can exclaim with the poet—'Not another joy like unto this succeeds in unknown fate.'

"[As Secular Institutions are not licensed as places wherein marriages can be legally performed, the foregoing service can be used in this way: After the couple have been duly 'joined in holy matrimony' at the Registrar's Court, the party can adjourn to the Hall, where the celebration can be held. It will be as well that this should take place on the same day, though that is not absolutely necessary. The reading of the service should be preceded by the singing of poem No. 5 in this Manual, and followed by No. 19, both of which should be set to cheerful and impressive tunes. The reader of the service can introduce a few remarks of a personal nature, if he thinks fit.]

"III. *A Burial Service.*

"By Austin Holyoake.

"We this day consign to the earth the body of our departed friend; for him life's fitful dream is over, with its toils, and sufferings, and disappointment. He derived his being from the bountiful mother of all; he returns to her capacious bosom, to again mingle with the elements. He basked in life's sunshine for

his allotted time, and has passed into the shadow of death, where sorrow and pain are unknown. Nobly he performed life's duties on the stage of earth; the impenetrable curtain of futurity has fallen, and we see him no more. But he leaves to his sorrowing relatives and friends a legacy in the remembrance of his virtues, his services, his honour, and truth. He fought the good fight of free inquiry, and triumphed over prejudice and the results of misdirected education. His voyage through life was not always on tranquil seas, but his strong judgment steered him clear of the rocks and quicksands of ignorance, and for years he rested placidly in the haven of self-knowledge. He had long been free from the fears and misgivings of superstitious belief. He worked out for himself the problem of life, and no man was the keeper of his conscience. His religion was of this world—the service of humanity his highest aspiration. He recognised no authority but that of Nature; adopted no methods but those of science and philosophy; and respected in practice no rule but that of conscience, illustrated by the common sense of mankind. He valued the lessons of the past, but disowned tradition as a ground of belief, whether miracles and supernaturalism be claimed or not claimed on its side. No sacred Scripture or ancient Church formed the basis of his faith. By his example he vindicated the right to think, and to act upon conscientious conviction. By a career so noble, who shall say that his domestic affections were im-

paired, or that his love for those near and dear to him was weakened? On the contrary, his independent method of thought tended to develop those sentiments which have their source in human nature—which impel and ennoble all morality—which are grounded upon intelligent personal conviction, and which manifest themselves in worthy and heroic actions, especially in the promotion of truth, justice and love. For worship of the unknown, he substituted duty; for prayer, work; and the record of his life bears testimony to his purity of heart; and the bereaved ones know but too well the treasure that is lost to them for ever. If perfect reliance upon any particular belief in the hour of death were proof of its truth, then in the death of our friend the principles of Secularism would be triumphantly established. His belief sustained him in health; during his illness, with the certainty of death before him at no distant period, it afforded him consolation and encouragement; and in the last solemn moments of his life, when he was gazing as it were into his own grave, it procured him the most perfect tranquillity of mind. There were no misgivings, no doubts, no tremblings lest he should have missed the right path; but he went undaunted into the land of the great departed, into the silent land. It may be truly said of him, that nothing in life became him more than the manner of his leaving it. Death has no terrors for the enlightened; it may bring regrets at the thought of leaving those we hold dearest on

earth, but the consciousness of a well-spent life is all-sufficient in the last sad hour of humanity. Death is but the shadow of a shade, and there is nothing in the name that should blanch the cheek or inspire the timid with fear. In its presence, pain and care give place to rest and peace. The sorrow-laden and the forlorn, the unfortunate and the despairing, find repose in the tomb—all the woes and ills of life are swallowed up in death. The atoms of this earth once were living man, and in dying we do but return to our kindred who have existed through myriads of generations.

[*Here introduce any personal matters relating to the deceased.*]

Now our departed brother has been removed, death, like a mirror, shows us his true reflex. We see his character, undistorted by the passions, the prejudices, and the infirmities of life. And how poor seem all the petty ambitions which are wont to sway mankind, and how small the advantages of revenge. Death is so genuine a fact that it excludes falsehood or betrays its emptiness; it is a touchstone that proves the gold and dishonours the baser metal. Our friend has entered upon that eternal rest, that happy ease, which is the heritage of all. The sorrow and grief of those who remain alone mar the thought that the tranquil sleep of death has succeeded that fever of the brain called living. Death comes as the

soothing anodyne to all our woes and struggles, and we inherit the earth as a reward for the toils of life. The pain of parting is poignant, and cannot for a time be subdued; but regrets are vain. Every form that lives must die, for the penalty of life is death. No power can break the stern decree that all on earth must part; though the chain be woven by affection or kindred, the beloved ones who weep for us will only for a while remain. There is not a flower that scents the mountain or the plain, there is not a rosebud that opes its perfumed lips to the morning sun, but ere evening comes may perish. Man springs up like the tree: at first the tender plant, he puts forth buds of promise, then blossoms for a time, and gradually decays and passes away. His hopes, like the countless leaves of the forest, may wither and be blown about by the adverse winds of fate; but his efforts, springing from the fruitful soil of wise endeavour, will fructify the earth, from which will rise a blooming harvest of happy results to mankind. In the solemn presence of death—solemn, because a mystery which no living being has penetrated—on the brink of that bourne from whence no traveller returns, our obvious duty is to emulate the good deeds of the departed, and to resolve so to shape our course through life, that when our hour comes we can say, that though our temptations were great—though our education was defective—though our toils and privations were sore—we never wilfully did a bad act, never deliberately injured our

fellow-man. The reward of a useful and virtuous life is the conviction that our memory will be cherished by those who come after us, as we revere the memories of the great and good who have gone before. This is the only immortality of which we know—the immortality of the great ones of the world, who have benefited their age and race by their noble deeds, their brilliant thoughts, their burning words. Their example is ever with us, and their influence hovers round the haunts of men, and stimulates to the highest and happiest daring. Man has a heaven too, but not that dreamed of by some—far, far away beyond the clouds; but here on earth, created by the fireside, and built up of the love and respect of kindred and friends, and within the reach of the humblest who work for the good of others and the improvement of humanity. As we drop the tear of sympathy at the grave now about to close over the once loved form, may the earth lie lightly on him, may the flowers bloom over his head, and may the winds sigh softly as they herald the coming night. Peace and respect be with his memory. Farewell, a long farewell!"

"[The foregoing service is suitable to be said over the grave of an adult male; it may, with slight effort, by altering the gender, be made suitable for a female also. It is almost impossible to write that which would be applicable to persons of all ages. It can always be sufficiently individualized by some friend of

the deceased introducing a few remarks of a personal nature.]"

Amid all the grotesqueness of these compositions —and they are grotesque, as being a sort of travestie on what we, from our point of view, consider most solemn—still I cannot but regard them as hopeful. I read them as a sign of Secularism against itself. Man may try to limit his ideas to this world, but he cannot; and these very makeshifts attest the fact. I print them in full for that very reason; because I am sure if one only passes from them to the contemplation of the simplest service under revelation, he will see that in the latter case only is life: the soul at last animates the dry bones. Dr. Sexton, who, curiously enough, has pointed my moral in another way by passing from Secularism to the opposite extreme of modern Spiritualism, as it were, anticipates this objection of the *soullessness* attaching to his creed in the following, which I extract from the Secularists' Hymnal:—

THE WORSHIP OF NATURE.

Music by John Lowry.

They tell us that we worship not,
  Nor sing sweet songs of praise;
That love divine is not our lot,
  In these cold modern days;
That piety's calm, peaceful state
  We banish from the earth:
They know not that we venerate
  Whate'er we see of worth:—

The singing of the birds on high,
  The rippling of the stream,
The sparkling stars in yon bright sky,
  The sunlight's merry gleam,
The ocean's wide and watery main,
  The lightning's vivid flash,
The sweet and gentle showers of rain,
  The awful thunder's crash;

The trees and flow'rs that deck the land,
  The soft and grassy mead,
The firm-set earth on which we stand,
  Are worshipful indeed.
We venerate great Nature's plan,
  And worship at her shrine,
While goodness, truth, and love in man,
  We hold to be divine. G. Sexton.

And so too in the following Benediction, or "Dismission" as it is termed, one is almost tempted to smile as one recognises the old *animus*. I still regard these different compositions as eminently hopeful, because I believe those who used them and felt the need of them would soon find it necessary to put something else in place of "great nature" in the former, and the "social system" in the latter. Even the significant letters which stand for "Common Metre" are witnesses on our side, and bespeak our Secularist friends more ecclesiastical than they have any idea of:—

DISMISSION.

Farewell, dear friends! adieu, adieu;
  In social ways delight;
Then happiness will dwell with you:
  Farewell, dear friends! good-night.

Farewell, dear friends! adieu, adieu;
  Remember us this night;
We claim to do the same for you:
  Farewell, dear friends! good-night.

Farewell, dear friends! adieu, adieu,
  Till we again unite;
The social system keep in view:
  Farewell, dear friends! good-night.

MR. BRADLAUGH ON TORYISM.

For one who hungers and thirsts after heterodoxy, whether theological or political, Mr. Bradlaugh is, by his own election and of set purpose, a standing dish where one may "cut and come again." There is this vast advantage about Mr. Bradlaugh that it is impossible to mistake him. None can accuse him of giving an uncertain sound. Theologically he is an atheist, or rather an anti-theist: politically, a republican *pur sang*. In the former capacity I had heard him laboriously and at length deny the existence of God, and defend his position, with the skill of a master in debate, against all comers; and the announcement that he would take, as a Tuesday evening subject at the Hall of Science, "The Queen's Speech and the Premier's Intentions"—that Premier being Mr. Disraeli—assured me that I should hear some equally definite and decisive utterances on political matters. I recognised the invitation as the call of duty, and went. The *National Reformer* fails as a *vade mecum*, from the fact of being, unlike its editor, vague in its statements of forthcoming events. No hour was mentioned for the lecture; so I took it for granted it would come off at the same time as on

Sundays, and consequently got there at seven o'clock, which I found was just an hour and a half too soon. The prospect of ninety minutes on the inhospitable and unattractive flagstones of Old Street, St. Luke's, is sufficient to try one's philosophy; but what is the use of going to the Hall of Science unless one *is* a philosopher? I was philosophic, and waited. What else was I to do? My philosophy resolved itself into necessity.

One thing I could say, at all events, that the rewards of my patience were immediate and appreciable—I got a front seat. The hall was filled completely and early: the twopenny gallery with genuine working men and working women; the fourpenny seats with working men and working women too, but with a large admixture of those whose work, like my own, was of the head and not of the hands. Buyers and sellers throng the aisles of the Temple of Science, and a shrill-voiced lad tempts the waiting audience with such racy pamphlets as "John Brown and the Queen," "Mr. Bradlaugh's letter to the Prince of Wales," "Autobiography of Mr. Bradlaugh." I invested in all three, and may quote from the two last, but certainly not from the first. Immersed in the events of Mr. Bradlaugh's chequered career, I found the time pass quickly enough; and in due course, accompanied as usual by his two daughters, our orator mounted his rostrum amid great applause.

"It was almost a mistake," he said, after a few open-

ing remarks by the chairman, "to have chosen the Queen's Speech for a subject, because there was so little in it. That speech was delivered by commission, and such a proceeding could scarcely fail to suggest the possibility of the Crown itself one day being put into commission altogether. He had lately been in a country where there were thirty-eight parliaments; and he had read some fourteen or fifteen of the Messages addressed to these legislative assemblies. These Messages were real ones. They told you something of what the policy was going to be. The Queen's Speech differed in the fact that it showed what the policy was *not* going to be, or rather it told nothing at all. It began by saying that her Majesty's relations with foreign powers were friendly, and yet we were in the thick of the Ashantee war. The fact was that five of the paragraphs in the speech were copied from former speeches; only two paragraphs had any claim to originality. On the subject of treaty obligations, he warned his hearers that there was danger in the exercise by ministers of what was called the Crown prerogative, by which the country might be first plunged into war, and then the war itself afterwards made the subject of debate. The Abyssinian and Ashantee expeditions had been very expensive; but when we were once embarked in them we were told that 'the honour of the country was involved,' and we must go on. It would be a great thing if it could be made a part of the Constitution

that no minister could protect himself in this way, or war entered upon without the consent of Parliament. He saw danger in the fact that both Germany and France were making vast preparations for war. Both countries had larger armies than when the Franco-Prussian war broke out. At one single place on the French frontier provisions for a year and a half had been lately served out to the German troops in the space of four weeks. Italy, France, and Germany each had armies at our doors in numbers utterly disproportionate to their areas. Suppose," he said, "Prussia had seen fit to make a way to the sea for herself by the dismemberment of Belgium, and Mr. Disraeli felt disposed to interfere, what could we do? We could not put fifty thousand men into the field. We had too many troops for peace, but not enough to justify any intervention in European questions.

"Then, as to the marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh, the Queen said:—

"'The marriage of my son, the Duke of Edinburgh, with the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrowna of Russia, is at once a source of happiness to myself and a pledge of friendship between two great Empires.'

"This was unobjectionable enough. No wonder there had been some rejoicings. It was, no doubt, a source of happiness to the Queen" (this was said with the driest humour). "It might be a pledge of friendship between two great Empires; but between the Russian and English people, no—I can't be

expected to rejoice," he proceeded. "I regard the Royal Family as too large already. I don't object to the Royal Family increasing and multiplying, if they would do it at their own expense; but they don't. It was said that this was a love match; and no doubt there were great inducements for the Duke; but, as far as experience had gone, the women had not had much to induce them to marry into our Royal Family. When we saw the people greeting a Russian Princess, could we help thinking of the cries we had once heard on behalf of Poland? And what hope could there be for a people who would lend themselves to such a sham? Is the English nation," he asked, "forgetting its old history? Charles Fox told George III. that he anh his family were but the creatures of a revolution. You seem to have forgotten that. Then with regard to the Ashantee War. If Sir Garnet Wolseley had stopped long enough at the Gold Coast, we should have made a treaty, and if it suited our purpose, perhaps we should have observed its provisions. We were a long-suffering people abroad. We had done all a Christian nation should have done. I hope" he continued, "you understand why the war broke out at all. I don't! Still it did break out—we have been victorious—we have got our trophies—have got (this amid shouts of laughter)—*the umbrella!*

"As to the Bengal famine. India, it must be remembered, had no representative in the House of

Commons. We governed India by a pure despotism. This was not the first famine. We had depopulated Rohilcund (cries of shame). Yes—but he doubted whether that depopulation was a greater shame than the present famine, because we could have prevented it.

"From India we came home again, and met with one of Disraeli's juggling tricks, the Trades' Commission. The Speech said :—

"'Serious differences have arisen and remonstrances been made by large classes of the community as to the working of the recent Act of Parliament affecting the relationship of Master and Servant, of the Act of 1871, which deals with offences connected with trade, and of the law of conspiracy, more especially as connected with these offences. On these subjects I am desirous that, before attempting any fresh legislation, you should be in possession of all material facts and of the precise question in controversy, and for this purpose I have issued a Royal Commission to inquire into the state and working of the present law with a view to its early amendment, if it should be found necessary.'

"So long as the relation of Master and Servant remained, so long there would be a war between Capital and Labour. There had been a time when serfdom prevailed in England; and the law was framed on the supposition that it existed still. Did they know that there was still in force and unrepealed a statute of

George II. which makes misbehaviour—or 'miscarriage,' whatever that might be—on the part of an artizan to his employer punishable with imprisonment and whipping? True that statute was never carried out, and why? Only because Public Opinion was stronger than the law. He defended Mr. Macdonald for taking his seat on this Commission. It was, he knew, one of the wretchedest farces ever enacted; but still, if such a Commission was to be, he thought Mr. Macdonald did quite right in accepting a seat upon it. The Land Question was going to be a big one; and this was how the Speech disposed of it:—

"'The delay and expense attending the transfer of land in England have long been felt to be a reproach to our system of law, and a serious obstacle to dealings in real property. This subject has in former Sessions occupied the attention of Parliament, and I trust that the measures which will now be submitted for your consideration will be found calculated to remove much of the evil of which complaint has been made.'

"There was at that moment a lock-out of the farmers. The farmers told the peasants to go and starve and be damned. Do you know," he asked, in the most measured tones, "what starving men do? Did you ever hear of the Jacquerie? Unless they let the peasants till their own land, some of their titledeeds won't be worth the stamps they've got upon them. Was it not better," he asked, "to create peasant pro-

prietors than paupers? It was not, he held, the fault of the tenant-farmers, but of the superior landlords, that things were in this position. The facility of transfer they wanted was not between the Duke of Westminster and the Duke of Northumberland, but from the Duke to Harry, Dick, or Hodge, with a large family and a starving wife all drifting fast to a pauper's grave!

"It would indeed be a shame for us if we were going back, as some had said, to old Toryism. I deny it," he thundered out. "They dared not make one backward step. What had been the history of the Tory party? It had lent itself to some liberal measures, but when? When it was out of office, and wanted to come in. What had it ever conserved for us? Since 1760, labour had been continually getting cheaper and bread dearer. They had conserved debt. Twenty-seven millions of tax was conserved by a Tory Government. Those who talked about Conservative working men simply did not understand English. Not, however, that there was much to choose between Whig and Tory. It was like the two slaves, Pompey and Sambo. When they were lost and their master advertised them, he said that they were very much alike, only Pompey was a little more like Sambo than Sambo was like Pompey. The only difference was, the Tories were a little more open and honest in their rascality than the Whigs. How was it that such a cheap paper as that he held

in his hand was possible? Why, because working men went to jail to make it so. Catholic Emancipation and Reform had only been conceded through fear. I ask you, Tories, can you stop one republican club or lecture in London? You sent men to prison in '39 for speaking as I am speaking now. Dare you send me to jail? (Immense applause.) And if you can't stop the mouth of one man, how will you stop the men in the Northumberland mines, the Durham pits, and the workshops of Lancashire?"

He concluded by picturing the great parks of the nobility, given up to hares and pheasants and keepers, and surrounded by starving peasants, and sat down, saying abruptly, by way of summary, "I deny your Conservative Reaction."

Such are the very plain words of this plain speaker as they may be heard almost any week at the Hall of Science. It may be interesting to know from his own words how he first attained to his present state of opinion. The following are extracts from his Autobiography:—

"I was born on the 26th September, 1833, in a small house in Bacchus Walk, Hoxton. My father was a solicitor's clerk with a very poor salary, which he supplemented by law writing. He was an extremely industrious man, and a splendid penman. I never had the opportunity of judging his tastes or thoughts outside his daily labours, except in one respect, in which I have followed in his footsteps. He

was passionately fond of angling. Until 1848 my life needs little relation. My schooling, like that of most poor men's children, was small in quantity, and, except as to the three R's, indifferent in quality. I remember at seven years of age being at a National school in Abbey Street, Bethnal Green; between seven and nine I was at another small private school in the same neighbourhood; and my 'education' was completed before I was eleven years of age at a boys' school in Coalharbour Street, Hackney Road. When about twelve years of age I was first employed as errand lad in the solicitor's office where my father remained his whole life through. After a little more than two years in this occupation, I became wharf clerk and cashier to a firm of coal merchants in Britannia Fields, City Road. While in their employment the excitement of the Chartist movement was at its height in England, and the authorities, frightened by the then huge continental revolution wave, were preparing for the prosecution of some of the leaders amongst the Chartists. Meetings used to be held almost continuously all day on Sunday, and every week-night in the open air on Bonner's Fields, near where the Consumption Hospital now stands. These meetings were in knots of from fifty to five hundred, sometimes many more, and were occupied chiefly in discussions on theological, social, and political questions, any bystander taking part. The curiosity of a lad took me occasionally in the week evenings

to the Bonner's Fields gatherings. On the Sunday I, as a member of the Church of England, was fully occupied as a Sunday-school teacher. This last named fashion of passing Sunday was broken suddenly. The Bishop of London was announced to hold a confirmation in Bethnal Green. The incumbent of St. Peter's, Hackney Road, the district in which I resided, was one John Graham Packer, and he, desiring to make a good figure when the Bishop came, pressed me to prepare for confirmation, so as to answer any questions the Bishop might put. I studied a little the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the four Gospels, and came to the conclusion that they differed. I ventured to write the Rev. Mr. Packer a respectful letter, asking him for aid and explanation. All he did was to denounce my letter to my parents as Atheistical, although at that time I should have shuddered at the very notion of becoming an Atheist, and he suspended me for three months from my office of Sunday-school teacher. This left me my Sundays free, for I did not like to go to church while suspended from my teacher's duty, and I, instead, went to Bonner's Fields, at first to listen, but soon to take part in some of the discussions which were then always pending there.

"At the commencement I spoke on the orthodox Christian side, but after a debate with Mr. J. Savage, in the Warner Place Hall, in 1849, on the 'Inspiration of the Bible,' I found that my views were getting

very much tinged with Free-thought, and in the winter of that year, at the instigation of Mr. Packer, to whom I had submitted the 'Diegesis' of Robert Taylor, I—having become a teetotaller, which in his view brought out my infidel tendencies still more vigorously—had three days given me by my employers, after consultation with my father, to 'change my opinions or lose my situation.' I am inclined to think now that the threat was never intended to have been enforced, but was used to terrify me into submission. At that time I hardly knew what, if any, opinions I had, but the result was that sooner than make a show of recanting, I left home and situation on the third day, and never returned to either.

"I was always a very fluent speaker, and now lectured frequently at the Temperance Hall, Warner Place, Hackney Road, at the small Hall in Philpot Street, and in the open air in Bonner's Fields, where at last on Sunday afternoons scores of hundreds congregated to hear me. My views were then Deistical, but rapidly tending to the more extreme phase into which they ultimately settled. . . . .

"I studied hard everything which came in my way, picking up a little Hebrew and an imperfect smattering of other tongues. I tried to earn my living as a coal merchant, but at sixteen, and without one farthing in my pocket, the business was not extensive enough to be profitable. I got very poor, and at that time was also very proud. A subscription offered me

by a few Freethinkers shocked me, and awakened me to a sense of my poverty; so, telling no one where I was going, I went away, and on the 17th December, 1850, was, after some difficulty, enlisted in the Seventh Dragoon Guards. With this corps I remained until October, 1853, being ultimately appointed orderly-room clerk; the regiment, during the whole of the time I remained in it, being quartered in Ireland. While I was in the regiment I was a teetotaller, and used often to lecture to the men in the barrack-room at night; and I have more than once broken out of Portobello barracks to deliver teetotal speeches in the small French Street Hall, Dublin. Many times have I spoken there in my scarlet jacket, between James Haughton and the good old father, the Rev. Dr. Spratt, a Roman Catholic priest, then very active in the cause of temperance. While I was in the regiment my father died, and in the summer of 1853 an aunt's death left me a small sum, out of which I purchased my discharge, and returned to England, to aid in the maintenance of my mother and family."

In reference to more recent times, he says:—

"During the Franco-Prussian struggle I remained neutral until the 4th of September. I was against Bismarck and his blood-and-iron theory, but I was also utterly against the Empire and the Emperor; so I took no part with either. I was lecturing at Plymouth the day the *déchéance* was proclaimed, and immediately after wrote my first article in favour of

Republican France. I now set to work, and organized a series of meetings in London and the provinces, some of which were co-operated in by Dr. Congreve, Professor Beesly, and other prominent members of the Positivist party. . . . .

"When the great cry of thanksgiving was raised for the recovery of the Prince of Wales, I could not let it pass without protest. While he lay dangerously ill I had ceased to make any attack on himself or family, but I made no pretence of a grief I did not feel. When the thanksgiving day was fixed, and tickets for St. Paul's were sent by the Lord Chamberlain to working men representatives, I felt it right to hold a meeting of protest, which was attended by a crowded audience in the New Hall of Science. . . . .

"It is at present too early to speak of the Republican movement in England, which I have sought, and not entirely without success, to organize on a thoroughly legal basis. It is a fair matter for observation that my lectures on 'The Impeachment of the House of Brunswick,' have been delivered to crowded audiences assembled in some of the finest halls in England and Scotland, notably the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, the Town Hall, Birmingham, the Town Hall, Northampton, and the City Hall, Glasgow. It is, as far as I am aware, the first time any English citizen has, without tumult or disorder, and in buildings belonging to various Municipalities, directly challenged the hereditary right of the reigning family.

"In penning the foregoing sketch I had purposely to omit many facts connected with branches of Italian, Irish, and French politics. I have also entirely omitted my own struggles for existence. The political parts are left out, because there are secrets which are not my own alone, and which may not bear full telling for many years to come. The second, because I hope that another year or two of hard work may enable me to free myself from the debt load which for some time has hung heavily round me."

As a specimen of Mr. Bradlaugh's power of irony, I quote the other pamphlet I spoke of as being sold at the Hall of Science, omitting, for obvious reasons, some few passages. It is entitled—

"*A Letter from a Freemason*

TO

"General H.R.H. ALBERT EDWARD, PRINCE OF WALES, Duke of Saxony, Cornwall, and Rothesay; Earl of Dublin, Colonel 10th Hussars, Colonel-in-Chief of the Rifle Brigade, Captain-General and Colonel of the Hon. Artillery Company, K.G., G.C.S.I., K.T., G.C.B., K.P., etc. etc. etc.

"Dear Br.—I do not ask you to pardon this, to the profane, perhaps, an apparently too familiar style of address, although I do pray pardon if I have unintentionally omitted any of your numerous titles in the formal superscription to this letter. I have never written before to a Prince, and may lack good manners in thus inditing; but to my brother Masons I have often written, and know they love best a plain,

fraternal greeting, if the purpose of the epistle be honest.

"You have voluntarily on your part, and unsought on my side, commenced by accepting me as a brother, and you have cemented this fraternity by specially swearing to protect me on appeal in my hour of danger; and though history teaches me that sworn promises are less well kept than steadfast, manly pledges, and that Princes' oaths are specially rotten reeds to lean upon; yet in the warmth of newly-created brotherhood, I am inclined to believe you, brother —for we are brethren, you and I—not brothers perhaps as we should be of the same common humanity—for in this land I know that Princes are no fair mates for those who are pauper born; but we are brothers by your own choice, members of the same fraternity by your own joining; men self-associated in the same grand Masonic brotherhood, and it is for that reason I write you this letter. You, though now a Past Grand Master, are but recently a free and accepted Master Mason, and probably yet know but little of the grand traditions of the mighty organization whose temple doors have opened to your appeal. My knowledge of the mystic branch gained amongst the Republicans of all nations is of some years' older date. You are now, as a Freemason, excommunicate by the Pope—so am I. It is fair to hope that the curse of the Church of Rome may have a purifying and chastening effect on your future life,

at least as efficacious as the blessing of the Church of England has had on your past career. You have entered into that illustrious fraternity which has numbered in its ranks Swedenborg, Voltaire, and Garibaldi. These are the three who personify grand Idealism and Poetic Madness; Wit and Genius, and true Humanity; manly Energy, sterling Honesty, and hearty Republicanism. My sponsor was Simon Bernard—yours, I hear, was the King of Sweden.

"In writing, dear brother, I do not address you as a Prince of Wales, for some of our Princes of Wales have been drunken, riotous spendthrifts, covered in debt, and deep in dishonour; but you, dear brother, instead of being such an one, figure more reputably as the erudite member of a Royal Geographical Society, or as a steady fellow of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers. Happily there is no fear that in your case a second Doctor Doran may have to pen the narrative of a delicate investigation. If Junius were alive to-day, his pen would not dare to repeat its fierce attack on another Prince of Wales. Junius charged George, Prince of Wales, with quitting the arms of his wife for the endearments of a wanton, with toying away the night in debauchery, and with mocking the sorrows of the people with an ostentatious prodigality. But your pure career, your sober and virtuous life, would win laudations even from Junius's ghost. You are an English gentleman, as well as Prince of Wales; a good and kind husband

in spite of being Prince of Wales; with you woman's honour is safe from attack, and sure of protection. The draggled and vice-stained plumes on your predecessors' escutcheons have been well-cleaned and straightened by modern journalism, and the Prince of Wales' feathers are no longer (like the Bourbon fleur-de-lis) the heraldic ornament of a race of princes *sans foi, sans mœurs.* Fit were you as profane to make the journeys to the Altar, for fame writes you as sober and chaste, as high-minded and generous, as kind-hearted and truthful. These are the qualities, oh Albert Edward, which hid your disability as Prince, when you knelt bare-kneed in our audience chamber. The brethren who opened your eyes to the light, overlooked your title as Prince of Wales in favour of your already famous manhood. Your career is a pleasant contrast to that of George Prince of Wales. Yet because you are as different from the princes whose bodies are dust, while their memories still remain to the historian as visible monuments of shame, I write to you, not as English Prince, but as brother Master Mason. Nor do I address you in your right as one of Saxony's princes, for amongst my memories of other men's readings, I have thoughts of some in Saxony's electoral roll, who were lustful, lecherous, and vile; who were vicious sots and extravagant wasters of their people's earnings, who had lured for their seraglios each fresh face that came within their reach: while you, though Duke of Saxony, have joined a

brotherhood whose main intent is the promotion of the highest morality. I do not indeed regard your title of Duke at all in writing you, for when we find a Duke of Newcastle's property in the hands of Sheriffs' Officers, his title a jest for bankruptcy messengers, and the Duke of Hamilton's name an European byeword, it is pleasant to be able to think that the Duke of Cornwall and Rothesay is not as these Dukes are; that this Duke is not a runner after painted donzels, that he has not written cuckold on the forehead of a dozen husbands, that he is not deep in debt, has not, like these Dukes, scattered gold in filthy gutters, while deaf to the honest claims of justice. We know, brother, that you would never have voluntarily enrolled yourself in the world's grandest organization, if you had been as these. It would have been perjury if you had done so—perjury which, though imperially honoured at the Tuileries, would be scouted with contempt by a Lancashire workman. . . . .

"You are a prince, but dare you be a man: for the sake of the Danish flower, whose bloom should gladden your life; for the sake of the toiling millions who are loyal from habit, and who will revolt reluctantly, but for peace will pay taxes readily; for the sake of the halo that history will show round your head in its pages? If you dare, let us see it. Go to Ireland—not to Punchestown races, at a cost to the people of more than two thousand

pounds—but secretly amongst its poor, and learn their deep griefs. Walk in London, not in parade at its horse shows, where snobs bow and stumble, but in plain dress and unattended; in its Spitalfields, Bethnal Green, Isle of Dogs, and Seven Dials; go where the unemployed commence to cry in vain for bread, where hunger begins to leave its dead in the open streets, and try to find out why so many starve. Don corduroy and fustian, and ramble through the ploughed fields of Norfolk, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Wiltshire, and other counties, where thirteen shillings per week are high wages, out of which the earner has to feed and clothe man, wife, and family, and pay rent.

"Brother, before you die you will hear cries for a Republic in England, cries that will require the brains of a grand man to answer, cries which are gathering now, cries from the overtaxed, who pay, without thought and without inquiry, many more pounds in unearned pensions, for yourself and brother princes, than they will by-and-by pay shillings, unless indeed you all work miracles, and make yourselves worth your money to the nation. Yet even this you might do; you might—you and your fellow princes in Europe—if you would disband your standing armies, get rid of the tinselled drones and gaudy court caterpillars, the State Church leeches, and hereditary cormorant tax-eaters, and then there would be a renewed lease of power for you, and higher happiness

for the people. But whatever you determine to do, do quickly, or it will be too late. The *Vive la République* now heard from some lips in Paris, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, will soon be the voice of France, and there is an electric force in the echo of that cry—a force which evokes the lightning-like flash of popular indignation with such directness against princes who mock peoples, against kings who rule for themselves, and against peers who govern for their own class, that as in a moment the oak which has stood for centuries, is stripped of its brown bark, and left bleached and blasted to wither, so is royalty stripped of its tinselled gilding and left naked and defenceless to the cold scorn of a justly indignant nation. As a Freemason you are bound to promote peace, but peace makes the strength of peoples, and discovers the weakness of princes. As a Freemason you are bound to succour the oppressed of the world, but then it will be against your fellow princes. As a Freemason you are bound to aid in educating the ignorant, but if you do this you teach them that the sole authority kings can wield they derive from the people; that a nation may elect a chief magistrate to administer its laws, but cannot give away their liberties to a master who shall have the right to bequeath his authority over their children to his child. As a Freemason you are bound to encourage the development of Free-thought, but Free-thought is at war with the Church, and between Church and

Crown there has ever been most unholy alliance against peoples. You were a prince by birth, it was your misfortune. You have enrolled yourself a Freemason by choice, it shall either be your virtue or your crime—your virtue if you are true to its manly dutifulness; your crime if you dream that your blood royalty is of richer quality than the poorest drop in the veins of

"A Free and Accepted Mason."

THE LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE.

It is not always possible to follow rigorously my method of treating first of all descriptively, each body, religious or political, which I make my subject of study. It has happened, especially in the case of political associations, that no public meeting has occurred during the period of my examination, and I am therefore reduced to the necessity of throwing myself on the courtesy of the secretary or some other official for the information I require. In that case, I state openly my object, enclosing a stamped envelope for reply, and in most cases, or at all events in many cases, have received a prompt response. What the motive may be for refusing information I cannot of course do more than surmise, and must leave my readers to draw their own conclusions. It may be remembered by the readers of "Unorthodox London" that two only out of all the multitudinous sects I dealt with thus refused information. The Irvingites did not wish for publicity, though they have been advertising and holding public meetings furiously ever since; and the Particular Baptists refused to answer my letters. The Positivists only declined courteously to adopt anything which might

appear to savour of propagandism through the press, but have since supplied me with everything I required. I regret to find that some "heterodox" societies appear to be following the evil example of the Particular Baptists.

Such, let me hasten to say, was far from being the case with the "Land and Labour League," the secretary whereof, in reply to my inquiries, obligingly wrote me the following letter, and added the documents which I herewith append, on the principle of allowing every religious or political body to speak for itself.

"80, Whitecross Street, E.C.

"Dear Sir,—Please accept as apology for the delay in answering your letter my illness, which having confined me to the house, has prevented me from attending to correspondence. I enclose you two publications which will give you some idea of the principles advocated by the League.

"We are out of other publications we have issued. It is also our intention shortly to invite combined action of other Radical and Liberal Associations, in support of the principles of our League.

"About a twelvemonth ago we published five reasons for opposing Mr. Mill's proposition for Free Trade in Land, which probably you have seen either in the *Examiner*, or the *National Reformer*, or the *Eastern Post*. The *Standard* also took a favourable view of our opposition at Mr. Mill's meeting at Exeter Hall,

where we moved a counter resolution. I also enclose you a copy of songs in elucidation of our principles.

"We have sent copies of the circular headed 'Deus Rex' to several of the Lent Preachers at the Chapel Royal. And now for a few remarks which you will please receive as coming from me. It seems to me that the Heterodoxy of London owes its life to the Infidel way in which professors and teachers of religion have pretended to teach God's truth. They have all along ignored what I may rightly call Material Christianity, that is, a Christianity suitable for man in his material existence; and then the arguments, or rather assertions without argument or reason, by which they support their Spiritual Christianity are so contrary to reason, Divine justice and truth, that they must have driven many from accepting even Spiritual Christianity; while millions cannot at all reconcile the present state of society and suffering, as in accordance with the love of Him who is represented as a God of love. The fact is the religious world, are endeavouring to engraft religion upon a state of society the fundamental principles of which are the very opposite of those social principles laid before us in the Bible; hence there is no unity between the practical and theoretical, or I may say Theocratical. Take for instance one simple land-law of the Bible, 'The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is Mine.' Therefore it appears that as long as 'The earth is the Lord's' it is not rightly, and never should

become a marketable commodity.—Our rulers 'frame mischief by a law,' and 'are not valiant for the truth upon the earth.' They will not accept the doctrine that the land is made for the people, and that God never appointed a rent collector.

"Should anything unforeseen occur, or any movement of the League within a short period, I will advise you. I shall look out for 'Heterodox London,' as doubtless it will contain much that is in harmony with my own sentiments.

"Yours faithfully,

(Signed) "F. Riddle,

"*Secy. L.L.L.*"

I have a shrewd suspicion that Mr. Riddle, aware of my clerical status, was poking a sly homily at me in this letter; but the courtesy of his remarks made me a willing listener, and I shall always be glad to "sit under" him or any other lay-preacher who will give me a novel light upon my duties and responsibilities. Indeed, the clerical profession seems, not unnaturally, to be a great object of the League's attentions. The following is the text of the circular distributed among them; and I venture to hope some of my reverend brethren have taken the hint, and "improved" the very suggestive text named therein:—

"DEUS REX.

"LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE,
"80, WHITECROSS STREET, LONDON, E.C.

"REV. SIR,—By a resolution of the Council of this League, under date October 27th, 1873, I am directed to suggest to you—'The propriety and utility—under the present circumstances of society—of directing or requesting the various Clergy, Ministers, and others, to give Sermons or Addresses on Nehemiah, chapter v. verses 1 to 13 inclusive.'

"It will be obvious to you that the misery, destitution, deaths from starvation and disease, now existing amongst a large number of the honest, toiling industrial classes of Great Britain, are mainly, if not entirely due to a neglect of duty on the part of those who have constituted themselves the governing classes, and who, under a pretence of legislation, have fraudulently and dishonestly appropriated to themselves for their own use, a monopoly of the Land and material resources of Great Britain—the which they could alone rightly *hold in trust* for the benefit of the people —and who have also made such laws in reference to Currency, National, Local, Harbour and Public Works, Bonds and Debts, and the permission of unlimited usury and extortion, as altogether have practically subjected and enslaved the Workers to the Capitalists.

"The Land and Labour League respectfully urges that the Clergy and Ministers have hitherto preached

to the poor alone the words of the tent-maker Paul,

'That if any would not work, neither should he eat.'

Working men contend that this doctrine should be preached with equal impartiality to their antagonists and enemies, the non-producing classes; and if neither the consideration of duty to God nor the motive of love to man, has been sufficiently powerful to induce those who have voluntarily taken charge of the moral, mental and material welfare of the people, to abolish the infamous monopolies — the Land and Labour League would urge upon all interested, the consideration of the question of how far, or whether it would be wise under present circumstances to delay a just and equitable reparation of these wrongs—until the working classes shall have determined to vindicate for themselves their just, natural and lawful rights as human beings.

"Signed on behalf of the Land
"and Labour League,
"FREDERIC RIDDLE,
"*Secretary.*"

The specific objects of the League, however, will be best gathered from the two pamphlets enclosed by Mr. Riddle, which I abridge without, I hope, omitting any material point:—

I.

Address of the Land and Labour League to the Working Men and Women of Great Britain and Ireland.

"Fellow Workers,—The fond hopes held out to the toiling and suffering millions of this country thirty years ago have not been realized. They were told that the removal of fiscal restrictions would make the lot of the labouring poor easy; if it could not render them happy and contented it would at least banish starvation for ever from their midst. They raised a terrible commotion for the big loaf, the landlords became rampant, the money lords were confounded, the factory lords rejoiced—their will was done—Protection received the *coup de grace.* A period of the most marvellous prosperity followed. At first the Tories threatened to reverse the policy, but on mounting the ministerial benches, in 1852, instead of carrying out their threat, they joined the chorus in praise of unlimited competition. Prepared for a pecuniary loss, they discovered to their utter astonishment that the rent-roll was swelling at the rate of more than 2,000,000*l.* a year. Never in the history of the human race was there so much wealth—means to satisfy the wants of man—produced by so few hands, and in so short a time, as since the abolition of the Corn Laws. During the lapse of twenty years the declared value of the annual exports of British

and Irish produce and manufactures—the fruits of your own labour—rose from 60,000,000*l.* to 188,900,000*l.* In twenty years the taxable income of the lords and ladies of the British soil increased, upon their own confession, from 98,000,000*l.* to 140,000,000*l.* a year; that of the chiefs of trades and professions from 60,000,000*l.* to 110,000,000*l.* a year. Could human efforts accomplish more?

"Alas! there are stepchildren in Britannia's family. No Chancellor of the Exchequer has yet divulged the secret how the 140,000,000*l.* are distributed amongst the territorial magnates, but we know all about the trades-folk. The special favourites increased from sixteen, in 1846, to one hundred and thirty-three, in 1866. Their average annual income rose from 74,300*l.* to 100,600*l.* each. They appropriated one fourth of the twenty years' increase. The next of kin increased from three hundred and nineteen to nine hundred and fifty-nine individuals: their average annual income rose from 17,700*l.* to 19,300*l.* each: they appropriated another fourth. The remaining half was distributed amongst three hundred and forty-six thousand and forty-eight respectables, whose annual income ranged between 100*l.* and 10,000*l.* sterling. The toiling millions, the producers of that wealth—Britannia's Cinderellas—got cuffs and kicks instead of halfpence.

"In the year 1864 the taxable income under Schedule D increased by 9,200,000*l.* Of that increase the

metropolis, with less than an eighth of the population, absorbed 4,266,000*l.*, or nearly a half. 3,123,000*l.* of that, more than a third of the increase of Great Britain, was absorbed by the City of London, by the favourites of the one hundred and seventy-ninth part of the British population: Mile End and the Tower, with a working population four times as numerous, got 175,000*l.* The citizens of London are smothered with gold; the householders of the Tower Hamlets are overwhelmed by poor-rates. The citizens, of course, object to centralization of poor-rates purely on the principle of local self-government.

"During the ten years ending 1861 the operatives employed in the cotton trade increased 12 per cent.; their produce 103 per cent. The iron miners increased 6 per cent.; the produce of the mines 87 per cent. Twenty thousand iron miners worked for ten mine owners. During the same ten years the agricultural labourers of England and Wales diminished by eighty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-seven, and yet, during that period, several hundred thousand acres of common land were enclosed and transformed into private property to enlarge the estates of the nobility, and the same process is still going on.

"In twelve years the rental liable to be rated to the poor in England and Wales rose from 86,700,000*l.* to 118,300,000*l.*: the number of adult able-bodied paupers increased from one hundred and forty-four

thousand five hundred to one hundred and eighty-five thousand six hundred.

"These are no fancy pictures, originating in the wild speculations of hot-brained incorrigibles; they are the confessions of landlords and money lords, recorded in their own blue books. One of their experts told the House of Lords the other day that the propertied classes, after faring sumptuously, laid by 150,000,000*l.* a-year out of the produce of your labour. A few weeks later the President of the Royal College of Surgeons related to a jury, assembled to inquire into the causes of eight untimely deaths, what he saw in the foul ward of St. Pancras.

"Hibernia's favourites too have multiplied, and their income has risen, while a sixth of her toiling sons and daughters perished by famine, and its consequent diseases, and a third of the remainder were evicted, ejected and expatriated by tormenting felonious usurpers.

"This period of unparalleled industrial prosperity has landed thousands of our fellow toilers—honest, unsophisticated, hard-working men and women—in the stone yard and the oakum room; the roast beef of their dreams has turned into skilly. Hundreds of thousands, men, women and children, are wandering about—homeless, degraded outcasts—in the land that gave them birth, crowding the cities and towns, and swarming the highroads in the country, in search of

work to obtain food and shelter, without being able to find any. Other thousands, more spirited than honest, are walking the treadmill to expiate little thefts, preferring prison discipline to workhouse fare, while the wholesale swindlers are at large, and felonious landlords preside at quarter sessions to administer the laws. Thousands of the young and strong cross the seas, flying from their native firesides, as from an exterminating plague; the old and feeble perish on the roadside of hunger and cold. The hospitals and infirmaries are overcrowded with fever and famine-stricken: death from starvation has become an ordinary everyday occurrence.

"All parties are agreed that the sufferings of the labouring poor were never more intense, and misery so widespread, nor the means of satisfying the wants of man ever so abundant as at present. This proves above all that the moral foundation of all civil government, 'THAT THE WELFARE OF THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY IS THE HIGHEST LAW, AND OUGHT TO BE THE AIM AND END OF ALL CIVIL LEGISLATION' has been utterly disregarded. Those who preside over the destinies of the nation have either wantonly neglected their primary duty while attending to special interests of the rich to make them richer; or their social position, their education, their class prejudices have incapacitated them from doing their duty to the community at large or applying the proper remedies: in either case they have betrayed their trust.

"Class government is only possible on the condition that those who are held in subjection are secured against positive want. The ruling classes have failed to secure the industrious labourer in the prime of his life against hunger and death from starvation. Their remedies have signally failed; their promises have not been fulfilled. They promised retrenchment; they have enormously increased the public expenditure instead. They promised to lift the burden of taxation from your shoulders; the rich pay but a fractional part of the increased expenses; the rest is levied upon your necessaries—even your pawn tickets are taxed—to keep up a standing army, drawn from your own ranks, to shoot you down if you show signs of disaffection. They promised to minimise pauperism: they have made indigence and destitution your average condition—the big loaf has dwindled into no loaf. Every remedy they have applied has but aggravated the evil, and they have no other to suggest—their rule is doomed. To continue is to involve all in a common ruin. There is one, and only one, remedy. Help yourselves. Determine that you will not endure this abominable state of things any longer; act up to your determination, and it will vanish.

"A few weeks ago a score of London working men talked the matter over. They came to the conclusion that the present economical basis of society was the foundation of all the existing evils—that nothing

short of a transformation of the existing social and political arrangements could avail, and that such a transformation could only be effected by the toiling millions themselves. They embodied their conclusions in a series of resolutions, and called a conference of representative working-men, to whom they were submitted for consideration. In three consecutive meetings those resolutions were discussed and unanimously adopted. To carry them out a new working-men's organization, under the title of the 'Land and Labour League,' was established. An executive council of upwards of forty well-known representative working-men was appointed to draw up a platform of principles arising out of the preliminary resolutions adopted by the conference, to serve as the programme of agitation by means of which a radical change can be effected.

"After mature consideration the Council agreed to the following :—

"1. Nationalization of the Land.

"2. Home Colonization.

"3. National, Secular, Gratuitous and Compulsory Education.

"4. Suppression of Private Banks of Issue. The State only to issue Paper Money.

"5. A direct and progressive Property Tax, in lieu of all other Taxes.

"6. Liquidation of the National Debt.

"7. Abolition of the Standing Army.

"8. Reduction of the Number of the Hours of Labour.

"9. Equal Electoral Rights, with Payment of Members.

"The success of our efforts will depend upon the pressure that can be brought to bear upon the powers that be, and this requires numbers, union, organization, and combination. We therefore call upon you to unite, organize, and combine, and raise the cry throughout Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and England 'The LAND FOR THE PEOPLE,'—the rightful inheritors of nature's gifts. No rational state of society can leave the land, which is the source of life, under the control of, and subject to the whims and caprices of, a few private individuals. A government elected by, and as trustee for, the whole people is the only power that can manage it for the benefit of the entire community.

"Insist upon the State reclaiming the unoccupied lands as a beginning of its nationalization, and placing the unemployed upon it. Let not another acre of common land be enclosed for the private purposes of non-producers. Compel the Government to employ the army, until its final dissolution, as a pioneer force to weed, drain, and level the wastes for cultivation, instead of forming encampments to prepare for the destruction of life. If green fields and

kitchen gardens are incompatible with the noble sport of hunting, let the hunters emigrate.

"Make the Nine points of the League the Labour programme, the touchstone by which you test the quality of candidates for parliamentary honours, and if you find them spurious reject them like a counterfeit coin, for he who is not for them is against you.

"You are swindled out of the fruits of your toil by land laws, money laws, and all sorts of laws. Out of the paltry pittance that is left you, you have to pay the interest of a debt that was incurred to keep your predecessors in subjection; you have to maintain a standing army that serves no other purpose in your generation, and you are systematically overworked when employed, and underfed at all times. Nothing but a series of such radical reforms as indicated on our programme will ever lift you out of the slough of despond in which you are at present sunk. The difficulty can be overcome by unity of purpose and action. We are many; our opponents are few. Then working men and women of all creeds and occupations claim your rights as with one voice, and rally round, and unite your forces under the banner of the 'LAND AND LABOUR LEAGUE' to conquer your own emancipation!

"JOHN WESTON, *Treasurer.*

"MARTIN J. BOON,
"J. GEORGE ECCARIUS, } *Secretaries.*"

II.

"*The Land Question.*

"Resolutions submitted to the Conference held at the 'Bell Inn,' Old Bailey, on Wednesday evening, October 13th, 1869, and adjourned to Wednesday, the 20th, and succeeding Wednesday evenings, at the same place.

"PREAMBLE.

"Whereas the existence and rapid increase of poverty and pauperism amongst the industrial classes, side by side with the equally rapid increase and development of the scientific appliances of production, is an anomaly that demonstrates the existence of radical and fundamental defects in the arrangements of society, which it is the incumbent and imperative duty of all classes of Reformers to use their utmost endeavours to discover and remove, this Conference recommends that a vigorous, outspoken, and manly exposition of the causes of this anomalous state of things, with a view to its eradication, be forthwith set on foot by an Association to be now formed under the title of the 'Political and Social Reform League,' on the basis of the following Resolutions, and pledges itself individually and collectively to support such a movement:—

"RESOLUTIONS.

"FIRST.—That the good of the community, individually and collectively, requires that the Government

of the country should be conducted in strict accordance with the principles of justice and impartiality, and with a paternal regard for the moral, social, intellectual, and material welfare of all the inhabitants: That justice to all is the interest of each, and injustice to any an injury to all: That the present monopoly in land and practice of usury are diametrically opposed to these philosophic and unassailable truths, and lie at the bottom of all the evils, social and moral, that afflict society.

"SECOND.—That the natural elements—earth, air, and water—with their natural products, are the rightful inheritance and birthright equally of all the inhabitants of a country, of which no human power or authority can justly deprive them: That the creation of private property in land, and its alienation from the great mass of the people, was a blunder and a crime that laid the foundation for the system of falsehood, fraud, and deception that now obtains—a system in which vice becomes virtue and virtue vice—that has resulted in incalculable mischief and confusion; in universally 'muzzling the ox that treadeth out the corn'; in poverty, pauperism, starvation, and premature death to the 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' and in piling up mountains of wealth for the enjoyment of the idle and worthless, thereby engendering vice, crime, and immorality blacker than 'Egyptian darkness,' obliterating the Creator's image in man, sinking him immeasurably below the brute

creation, banishing from his being all that is noble and godlike in humanity, and converting him into a very fiend and a demon, delighting in the cruelty and injustice he perpetrates, and in the damnation and death he inflicts: That the mitigation and removal of these evils can only be effected by the rectification of the errors that have occasioned them;—viz. the restoration of the land to its rightful inheritors—the People—and abolishing the accursed system of usury.

"THIRD.—That the present system of land-holding and letting having caused such manifold evils, a new arrangement, whereby the land shall be held by the State as trustee for the people, to be used for their sole benefit, HAS BECOME AN IMPERATIVE NECESSITY, in order to avert the otherwise inevitable calamity of violent convulsions, and the terrible alternative—a sanguinary and bloody revolution—as no power could control the exasperation and rage for vengeance that would necessarily ensue should the mass of the people become fully aware of the heinousness of the system by means of which they have for ages been robbed and murdered, ere steps had been taken to peaceably effect its removal.

"FOURTH.—That while it would be entirely in accordance with the principles of justice and equity to call upon the landlords unconditionally to surrender the land, and not only the land, but likewise a little of the hundreds of millions of money they have levied

on the people for its use, yet, as such a course might in some few instances, where the ownership had recently changed hands, be attended with some degree of hardship, to avoid which, and in order to make the transition from the old to the new order of things as rapid and as smooth as possible, the present holders should be entitled to receive such compensation, in the form of terminable annuities, payable out of the national revenue, as a parliament elected by universal or manhood suffrage should determine.

"FIFTH.—That having recovered possession of the land, the Government should lay down such terms and conditions for its occupancy and cultivation as might be deemed necessary and expedient to protect and advance the interests of the community, and, at the same time, create such a feeling of confidence and security amongst the cultivators of the soil, and such inducements to industry as would leave no excuse for idleness in men capable of wielding the implements of husbandry while there remains an acre of land waiting to be cultivated, or of reclaimable waste or bog to be reclaimed: That to this end the land should be let in such quantities as to suit, as far as practicable, the circumstances and aspirations of all persons or associations desirous of placing themselves upon the land, and, where necessary, loans or grants of money should be made, either in compensation for improvements effected or in progress, or on the security of the crops, and the holdings, on the fulfilment of the required

conditions, should be of a fixed and permanent character.

"SIXTH.—That along with the abolition of the landlords, it is also imperatively necessary to cancel and abolish their eight hundred million power patent for plunder, misnamed the National Debt, with its twin iniquity and monument of folly and wickedness, the standing army, consuming between them wealth to the enormous amount of a million a week, every pennyworth of which is ground out of the bone and muscle of down-trodden and famishing industry; that the maintenance of a large standing army in time of peace, at an enormous cost—while millions of Her Majesty's subjects are perishing of cold and hunger—is incapable of any other interpretation the working classes can accept, than that it is kept up for the sole purpose of maintaining the ascendancy of aristocratic imbecility, folly, and blindness—of perpetuating their well-worn 'privilege' of wholesale 'picking and stealing,' and stemming the approaching recognition of the dignity of labour; That the so-called National Debt (money borrowed of themselves for themselves), having been contracted by the aristocracy and moneyocracy to further their own selfish and wicked designs, they, and they alone, are responsible for its liquidation and settlement, and ought to be specially taxed for that purpose, and not another farthing should be levied on industry for the payment of either the principal or interest, nor for the maintenance and

education of a mighty host of useless consumers and professional cut-throats.

"SEVENTH.—That the object and duty of the POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM LEAGUE shall be to disseminate and enforce the views and declarations set forth in the preceding resolutions, and to show that no administration or party in the State who are not prepared gradually to carry out the reforms they propose, with many others not stated, but equally necessary to bring the Government into unison and harmony with the principles laid down in the first resolution, are worthy of the confidence and support of the industrial classes; and that all their professions of sympathy for the poor or of a desire to inaugurate a career of 'Justice to Ireland,' or anywhere else, are mere shams and pretences, which it is their bounden duty to treat with unmitigated derision and contempt."

From the poetry of the League, which I am unromantic enough not to like so well as the prose, I cull two extracts, selecting one as a specimen of the sublime, and the other of—well, of the reverse:—

Songs of Freedom and Right for the People.

GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE.

Great God the people save,
Bless them with length of days,
God save us all.
Make us victorious,
Triumphantly glorious
O'er those who misrule us,
God save us all.

O Lord our God arise,
Teach aristocracies
To heed thy law.

Confound their politics,
Frustrate their knavish tricks,
On Thee our hopes we fix,
God save us all.

Thy plenteous gifts in store,
On us be pleased to pour,
Long may we live.

May we defend Thy Laws,
And ever have true cause,
With heart and voice to sing,
God is our King.

NOT FOR RAD.

Tune—"Not for Joe."

I don't care what you call my name,
My friends all call me Rad,
I'm up to many a Tory trick,
And sure they're very bad.
So long you've bled you scarce can tell
Why your suff'rings are so sad,
But if they try my sense to gull
I tell them not for Rad.

Chorus—Not for Rad, not for Rad,
He's too wide awake you know,
No, no, no, not for Rad,
Not for Raddy, oh dear no.

I used to wonder what it was
That made the world so bad,
At last, my friends, I found the cause
Why 'tis things are so sad.
Now the other day I asked for a crib,
Was told that trade's so bad,

Then Bobby poked me in the rib,
Says he, I'll have you, Rad.

SPOKEN—Well now, said I, no, no, by Gad.

Chorus—Not for Rad, not for Rad,
He's too wide awake you know,
No, no, no, not for Rad,
I told Bobby not for Rad.

There's fellers called most noble Lords,
They does no work at all,
They're always giving us hard words,
And pays us very small.
Ten shill'ns a week they'll give to us,
"Take that and be content,
And sure you needn't make a fuss,
You scarce pay any rent."

SPOKEN—Well says I, I really think you ought to gi'e me more; myself' my wife, and kids, we make up half a score, we really cannot live on that.

Chorus—Not for Rad, not for Rad,
He's too wide awake you know,
No, no, no, not for Rad,
Not for Raddy, oh dear no.

I read a book the other day
When I'd no work to plan,
It told me what they would not say,
"God gives the land to man."
And the secret then I found at last,
This land they've ta'en away,
That's how 'tis they're rich so fast
And we so little pay.

SPOKEN—Fancy hundreds of thousands of acres of land—the people's lands too—for one man, and they *makes* us pay rent to work it, and when we've made such lots of wealth, they doles us our starvation's mite and says "Rest and be contented."

Chorus—What! Content!! Not for Rad,
He's too wide awake you know,
No, no, no, not for Rad,
Not for Raddy, oh dear no.

I think you've heard enough from Rad
  To set you all in thought,
And though things now go bad and bad,
  Don't be so cheaply bought.
Make up your minds at once, my lads,
  Proclaim your rights aloud,
And be no longer lordlings' cads,
  Although so long you've bowed.

SPOKEN—I say, mind you teach your fellows that the Land of Britain belongs by God's own gift to Britain's men, and that

Chorus—'Tis for Rads, 'tis for Rads,
They're so wide awake I guess,
Yes, yes, yes, 'tis for Rads,
'Tis for Raddies, oh dear yes.

Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah,
The land, the land, the land.

THE KANSAS CO-OPERATIVE COLONY.

It must not be supposed from the easy-going *couleur de rose* descriptions which my readers meet with in these different chapters, that the hunter after Heterodoxy always has a successful run. Covers are often drawn blank for a long time, sometimes altogether, and such, at the time of sitting down to write the present account, appears to be the case with the Working Men's Co-operative Colony, Kansas, U.S.A., the Association for promoting which advertise Sunday Evening Lectures in the *National Reformer*, and name two gentlemen as corresponding secretaries; but they steadily refuse to correspond with me. I have written on two occasions, enclosing stamped envelope for reply, but as yet, can only say, in the language of Bradshaw, "no information received."

However, I was not going to be done by the coyness of the Kansas secretary, so on a certain Sunday evening I arrayed myself in my garb of *ouvrier*, and set out to beard that retiring gentleman in his den. A public meeting was advertised as usual in the *National Reformer* thus:—

"WORKING MEN'S CO-OPERATIVE COLONY, KANSAS, U.S.A.—Public meetings in the Large Room on the first floor at the Eclectic Hall, 18, Denmark Street, Soho, every Sunday evening, at 8.30, at which lectures are delivered and progress at the Colony reported. J. F. Murray, Cor. Sec., A. Days, Assist. Cor. Sec."

This looked all fair and above-board enough, and in due season I reached Denmark Street, which is close by St. Giles's Church, and found the Eclectic Hall without difficulty. I passed at once into the meeting-room, and saw a goodly assemblage gathered. I had got it; the reason of the secretary's reticence was they had so many volunteers for Kansas that they had no time to answer letters. I sidled up to a working-man next me, who was making notes in what looked like a washing-book, and asked him when the lecture was to commence. To my great joy he informed me there were to be three speakers, so I flattered myself I should soon know all about the Kansas co-operatives; when he followed up his information by asking me—somewhat inconsequentially, I thought—whether I was an abstainer. Coyly as the Kansas secretary himself I answered I was not, and asked him whether abstinence was a part of the Kansas scheme. The man glared at me for a moment, and then the truth flashed upon him and me simultaneously. I had strayed into the wrong room. A

teetotal lecture was impending here, and my Kansas co-operatives gathered on the first floor.

To the first floor I mounted, and entered what could only be by a stretch of courtesy called a "large" room, where I found about eight or ten men and two or three women seated on forms, with two individuals, rather more jauntily dressed than the others, at a table. One, a red-headed, bright-eyed young man, with a nosegay in his button-hole, scrutinized me severely when I came in, as indeed did all the assembled except the second secretary, who was an austere-looking gentleman, in reverend black, writing hard, after the manner of actors on the stage. I have a supreme conviction that he was writing nothing; but he kept on perseveringly at it all the time I was there. I could not get to feel at my ease; for all the other folks in the room seemed to know one another, and kept up a constant conversation about people and things utterly unknown to all except the initiated. The chief topic of talk was a Mr. Radford, who it appeared had just set sail with his wife and family for the Colony, and who, the dapper secretary remarked in a semi-official tone, would at that time be feeling very sick—the secretary used an inelegant but perhaps more expressive synonym for that disagreeable process.

I waited about an hour listening to this not very edifying conversation, and watching men and boys paying their pence to the officials—I presume sub-

scriptions to this mystic Association. Mystic it was in the strictest sense of the term, for nothing in the shape of a public lecture took place, and no one whit of information could I extract beyond what cropped up in conversation; which was to the effect that Mr. Radford having got out to the Colony would want some funds to go on with, and a committee was formed to discuss the problem of ways and means.

One fine bearded working-man, whose brother had gone out with Mr. Radford, was disposed to be communicative; but he could not command the publications of the Association, which the jaunty secretary kept all to himself; so I passed downstairs into the teetotal lecture room, where my friend of an hour since was inveighing against alcohol to his heart's content. As for me, I had the disagreeable sensation of having lost an evening by being decoyed to the Eclectic Hall under promise of a public lecture, when none such was forthcoming. I was prepared to sympathize greatly with the objects of the Association as far as I could infer them from its title; but I confess I cannot understand why, if the scheme is *boná fide* intended for the public good, the Association should be converted by its officials into a secret society.

Certainly the Kansas Colony Association has the most remarkable way of doing things. While the above remarks were being printed, and the Association still steadily refusing to answer my letters, I received a

copy of the *Leamington, Warwickshire, and Centre of England Chronicle*, the London letter of which contained the following paragraphs relative to the Kansas Colony carefully marked for my inspection. If the mission of Mr. Radford be "the most interesting event that has happened since the creation of the world," and the Kansas "chick" really anxious to "peck up applicants for membership," one would fancy the secretary might, at all events, receive instructions to be ordinarily civil to inquirers, instead of treating them in this circumlocutory backstairs kind of manner. However, the Association has full right to conduct its affairs in its own way. My commission simply is to chronicle facts, and leave others to draw their own inferences. Subjoined are the remarkable paragraphs in question:—

"If we speculate on the prospective future from the completion of present actions, a meeting that was held in the Large Hall in Denmark-street, to present a testimonial to Mr. Radford on his departure to America, to take the stewardship of the Kansas Co-operative Colony, was the most interesting event that has happened since the creation of the world. I am bound to explain why I use such an apparently exaggerated estimate of the night's proceedings. The Kansas Colony has been wallowing in all but insurmountable difficulties, with a strain on the pockets of the promoters that literally deprived them of butter for their daily bread. What with the in-

stalments for the land payments, the land tax of the State of Kansas, the raising money to send out Mr. Radford, his wife, and seven children, one would have thought philanthropy would have found out these fighters for a noble purpose, and poured in aid to enable them to do without the strain of attempting the next to impossible. Would it be credited that they have subscribed, in five years, something over two thousand pounds, and all—with perhaps the exception of say £50—by men earning weekly wages? They had been attempting a mortgage; but an American mortgage is not looked at by English capitalists. Luckily, on the occasion of the meeting, the chairman of the Company was enabled to announce that a mortgage had at last been obtained, and that now they, on release from the anxiety for immediate subscriptions, could take their time, as the repayments for the mortgage were in small sums that the Colony could easily meet when once the land was under cultivation; and as repayment did not begin for three years from the date of signing, they could now breathe freely, and exert all their powers for the development of the Colony. This is very satisfactory, but it does not justify the statement that it was the most important meeting that has been held since the world began. You may think I have forgotten the labourers' meeting under the tree at Wellesbourne, but that was to raise wages, not actual emancipation. True; but why it is so is because the system they intend to follow out is the

redemption of society—in mutual co-operation—labour exchange—the nationalization of the land, which means that no individual can ever own the land, as it will always belong to the Company; and even the present mortgage is not out of the Company, for it is the chairman himself who has made the promise of a personal repayment of the mortgage by spreading its re-payment over a certain time, so that the members have nothing to do with its liquidation. But as the chairman had only lately joined the Company, the real battle had been fought by the Society, just as the English won the battle of Waterloo before the Prussians came up to the front. The land is never to be sold, but each colonist, at home or abroad, can occupy ten acres as an everlasting occupancy, so that the idea of home shall be a fact—of generation following generation to the crack of doom; I presume, with the right of the Colony, on an improvement or alteration being required, of giving him not less than double compensation, if required, to surrender his occupancy. But as such a requisition is all but impossible, save in the village for a town-hall or new street, so on his ten acres he can build his house as a castle that is impregnable. You may say a man and his family cannot live on ten acres; true, but they have some 250 acres for a co-operative farm, at which he can employ his time; and the probabilities are, that as soon as the estate secures the prospect of the re-payment, the Company will buy

land, not only in America but in England, and so make their principles a practical example for the public, which hitherto has had to be contented with paper proposals. You may say, Why is the Company not more known? The answer is, that people do not like joining a Society in difficulties; but now that the difficulties are removed, and the egg satisfactorily hatched, the chick will peck up applicants for admission to membership, which means immediate emancipation from the troubles that now encompass the man who is born into the world with the right to work—if those who want work think it right to give it to him, if not, he is left to starve. I say, therefore, that a Society on its legs, with such intentions, is the first institution that has recognised the authority of the community, in combination with the sovereignty of the individual; and being the first, its principles, as noble, just, equitable, and promoting the welfare of all, will now spread like wildfire among the oppressed, either to join it or to go and do likewise. I wish Mr. Radford's speech, in conclusion, could have been reported, for I never listened to a speech of such heartfelt eloquence, tempered with the moderation of common sense. If the labourers have an Arch over them, the mechanics have a doorway."

AT SUNDAY SCHOOL.

It is a very significant evidence of heterodoxy when a religious body, foregoing the ordinary appellation of church or chapel, bestows on its place of Sunday meeting the philosophic title of "school." Such is the case with the Positivists, or followers of Auguste Comte, who gather week by week on Sunday morning and evening in a small lecture room in Chapel Street, Bedford Row, on which they bestow the old appellation of the Positivist School. I have visited this school on two recent occasions, and heard lectures by the chief apostles of Positivism in London, Dr. Congreve and Dr. Bridges, each of which seems sufficiently distinctive to merit a report.

There would seem to be a tendency on the part of most religious bodies, in these days of keen competition, to push to the front, and no longer elect to "blush unseen;" and even that coy and demure damsel, Philosophy, is catching the contagion from her more impulsive and gushing sister. A year or two ago, when I was collecting materials for my "Unorthodox London," two religious bodies stood rigidly aloof and refused me all information. They did not want to be "done." These were the Irving-

ites (or Catholic Apostolic Church) and the Particular Baptists. The former seemed to think ventilation in the columns of a penny paper *infra dig.* and un-Apostolic; the latter never answered my letter at all. Since then the Irvingites have come out strongly in the advertising way. It seems to have struck them that, though penny papers were not, of course, an institution in Apostolic times, yet still their existence is a necessary and legitimate development of civilization. Be that as it may, the Catholic Apostolic Church rivals Professor Holloway in the extent of its advertisements, and seeks a platform in every hall in London, while it must have pretty well made the fortune of its bill-poster. The Catholic Apostolic Church is wise in its generation; not so the Particular Baptists. They blush unseen as ever, and still vend their "Earthen Vessels" down the little chapel in Johnson Street, as though there was no world at all outside Notting Hill.

So when I entered the Positivist School a few Sundays since, I did so much in the same way as a gentleman likely to be "wanted" presents himself at one of Ned Wright's exclusive suppers. I secreted my note-book as furtively as I had my cigar on the Metropolitan Rail. But it was no use. Some men, as Malvolio says, have greatness thrust upon them; and since the publication of "Unorthodox London," I cannot enter a conventicle without being "spotted" forthwith. A cheery gentleman who had given me

most of the information I had gathered on a previous visit, some years before, was warming his hands at a stove, and no doubt his heart simultaneously by talking to a young lady—I presume a Positivist, but I know pretty. I saw from his manner he remembered me. I believe if I were to go in the garb of an Ashantee chief they would still find me out. However, we said nothing, except about the weather, and such other safe topics ; and in course of time the lecturer and his small audience arrived. This lecturer was Dr. Congreve, who had on my previous visit firmly but courteously declined to give me information, simply on the quite intelligible ground that the Positivists did not seek publicity. They were glad to see all who came, and were, of course, open to be reported; but they wished criticism to come purely from without—a canon which none will deem other than sound.

There were very few Sunday scholars at school that morning. The weather outside was miserable; and inside Dr. Congreve was on a heavyish subject, namely, the Positivist Doctrine of Submission. The special phase, however, to be treated that particular morning was a very fascinating one indeed, being an inquiry as to whether the great leaders of thought in past ages believed in the bases they laid down for their teachings. Dr. Congreve, at some length, divided the past and present experience of humanity into three epochs, which he named respectively the

Initial, the Transitional, and the Final. In the organic periods of the Great Theocracies and of the Highest Catholicism, he thought there was no doubt that the leaders of thought *did* believe the doctrines they proclaimed. The success and prevalence of the doctrines were an evidence that they did so. Even in times of dissolution, like those of Aristotle, there was in this philosopher, for instance, a respectful toleration of the old Polytheism, though quite different from that of Plato. So in the cases of Bacon and Descartes, there was no attack on the ancient faith, but a reverent acquiescence which, nevertheless, was only provisional. When the dissolution was very advanced the attitude became more daring. The higher speculative minds demanded change; the lower would still hold on provisionally to old faiths and forms. "We have," said Dr. Congreve, "for the time being eliminated the name of God; but there is no reason why in process of time it should not be replaced, though standing, of course, as the representative of a new idea, namely, Humanity."

Well, this was a bit profound; and as I dared not use my note-book, lest the lecturer should see and denounce me, I fear I carried away but a few fragments of a masterly discourse. Professor Beesly was among the scholars, or audience, or congregation—I never know which to call it—and, as soon as the lecture was over, I prepared to go: but not a bit of it. My cheery friend fished me out, and presented

me incontinently to the lecturer as the author of "Unorthodox London." I hope I blushed; I honestly tried to. At all events, I smilingly reminded the Doctor of our previous correspondence, and he repeated to me once more what were his sole and certainly reasonable objections to giving me information. The Positivists are very far above puffing themselves; that was all. He told me that on Sunday evenings Dr. Bridges was delivering a course of lectures on the Great Names in the Positivist Calendar —those to which the months are dedicated. The subject for that evening was Dante; for the next, Gutenberg; for the following, Shakspeare. I selected what the French call the "noble Williams," and went accordingly.

I found the school quite full now, as they told me I should. Many members of trades' unions attend in the evening, the teaching of this Sunday school being quite as much political as moral or religious; and we were then in the thick of politics, for it was the first day of the great election week.

Dr. Bridges had commenced, with something more than punctuality, before I got there, and I could only struggle into a bad seat at the back. They seemed to be all *bonâ fide* working men around me; and there were a good many who looked like working women too: many who might have been decent domestic servants spending their "Sunday out" in that most unlikely of all places. The *savans* and strong-minded

ladies (if there were any of the latter) were more in front. Mr. Odger came some time after me, with a little knot evidently of his Southwark supporters round him, and passed up to the chief seat in the synagogue, as if he had been on the floor of St. Stephen's already.

"The original purpose of Art," said Dr. Bridges, "was to enable man to live outside the present, in the past or the future. Art was not of necessity beautiful or imitative; but this was of its essence, that it should supply the necessity which all felt of escaping from the present. Narrow-minded moralists preached the advisability of becoming absorbed in duty; politicians bade us be absorbed in the State; but this Life of Memory was essential to all. It should only co-exist with and not supplant the life of Common Duties; for," said he, "the most degraded of all is the ultra art-life of self-indulgent Epicureanism. For healthy existence the two lives were necessary. But the question might be asked, How could this extend to the degraded classes? It was true of them, as of us, that they needed this double life. If not, they would satisfy their craving by drunkenness. What was not done by art would be done by gin. The function of art, both good and bad, was to give a pleasurable excitement outside of self. Bad art, for instance, was that of Holywell Street, or of modern novels. It was a *Di-version* in the literal sense of the word—a turning away from self, that was sought.

"This function of Art in old times was always associated with religion, as in the Hindoo and Hebrew poetry; but the era to be considered was that of the Renaissance, or, in other words, the fifteenth century, when there took place the revival of beauty, of free thought, and of the old classical spirit. But there was more than this; it was not merely a revival that then occurred. It was a continuance. An onward step was made. There was a blossoming out of the Middle Ages. As in Dante the Catholic side, so in Shakspeare the chivalrous side of Mediævalism was represented. Ariosto was emphatically the Poet of Chivalry; and chivalry meant loyalty, courage, firmness, tenderness, and truth — especially towards woman. The Greek and Roman women had been wholly or partially degraded. Hence it was a new type of poetry which was embodied in Ariosto and Calderon."

The working men in front of me began to fidget and speculate as to when he was "a-coming to Shakspeare." They were, in fact, but overgrown boys, and Ariosto and Calderon were a little beyond them.

"Shakspeare," said Dr. Bridges—as if he had heard the honest artisans—"was the representative of this renaissance spirit in England. Chaucer had been the contemporary of Petrarch; but after his time came the French Wars, the Wars of the Roses, and the Reformation. Life had been too unsettled for the revival. Shakspeare especially, like Corneille, opened

up the pages of Roman History. It had been said he was aristocratic. The fact was that Art idealizes the actual, and that the virtues with which it could deal lived in mediæval times only among the upper classes. The Positivist is, *quâ* Positivist, neither Aristocrat nor Democrat, but Sociocrat. He wants to level up, not down: to raise the general level of society. The type of Bayard was a perfect combination of courage, truth, and tenderness, seldom seen before his time or since. The nearest approach perhaps, was Garibaldi. Others might be discerned in the best of Cromwell's Puritans, or the best of the Paris workmen. The self-sacrifice of these latter was worthy the knights of the Middle Ages.

"Art at present," concluded Dr. Bridges, after giving a lengthened analysis of "King Lear" (which sent me to sleep), "was now confined to drawing-rooms, where Browning and Tennyson were simpered out to coteries. It was not national, because society was disturbed. English society was, for the present, given over to money-making; and therefore there was no national Art. In Parliament Street, only the day before, he had seen the most shameless electioneering placard—he knew not of which party—which exemplified that aspect of modern society. It exhorted people to 'vote for those who defend trade against co-operative societies, and are ready to amend the law against adulteration!' That meant really, 'vote for the right to charge more for goods than

they are worth, and to adulterate *ad libitum.*' He was," he said, "careless as to which party got in as things are at present; but this selfishness was fatal to Art. All we could do was to use the Art of the past as best we might; and the comfort for Positivists lay in the fact that the noblest sphere of the Art of the future lay in the Religion of Humanity. One word as to electioneering. He had said he viewed the question of parties with indifference. There were reasons which might incline him to either side. He hoped to see disestablishment compassed. He hoped workmen would be elected who would push forward social problems. All these matters deserved serious attention; but there was no chance of success in the present elections; at least the success could only be partial. Even the prevention of further establishment —which was involved in the Education Act—was scarcely to be hoped for. He hoped that such men as should be elected would join for an uncompromising use of their powers; but he doubted whether they might not do more good outside than inside Parliament, in forming a healthy state of public opinion. At all events, it was to be hoped that the few thoroughgoing men in Parliament would continue so, and not consent to feeble compromises."

Such were some of the teachings of this strange Sunday School; and, as I passed out into sanctimonious Bedford Row, I saw the good people coming out of St. John's, and Mr. Odger girding up his loins

to address his followers on the flagstones; but I had imbibed instruction enough for one while, so passed on and left him orating.

There is no part of my present task which I have approached with so much diffidence as the description of the outward and visible signs of Positivism, or in the execution of which I am so conscious of deficiency. The outward and visible sign conveys so little of the inward meaning; and the process by which the Positive Philosophy passes into the Religion of Humanity is so complicated and delicate, that I feel my best plan will be simply to transcribe a few extracts from Mr. G. H. Lewes's "History of Philosophy," and refer my readers to that work, together with the prolific literature of Positivism, or, better still, counsel them to adopt the same course of personal observation which I myself put in practice.

The first two essays of Comte were: I. "Plan des Travaux Nécessaires pour Reorganizer la Société;" II. "Considérations Philosophiques sur les Sciences et les Savants." "These form," says Mr. Lewes, "an excellent introduction to the study of Positivism; and in them it is shown (1) that all phenomena, even those of politics, are subject to invariable laws; (2) that the human mind passes from initial theological conceptions to final positive conceptions, through the transition of metaphysical conceptions; (3) that human activity, in like manner, passes through three phrases, from the conquering military régime to the

pacific industrial régime, through the transitional state of a defensive military régime; (4) that everywhere, and at all times, the state of opinions and manners determines the institutions, and that the nature of the general beliefs determines a corresponding political régime; (5) that philosophy (or general beliefs) in passing from the theological to the positive stage, must bring about the substitution of the industrial for the military régime; and, finally, that the spiritual reorganization, which is the necessary condition of all social reorganization, must repose upon the authority of demonstration; it must be based on science, with a priesthood properly constituted out of the regenerated scientific classes. In other words, the spiritual authority must issue from a philosophy which can be demonstrated, not from a philosophy which is imagined."

Some years ago, when the subject was quite new to me, I alluded to it in one of my Sunday evening sermons, and found the congregation greatly interested in the subject. I hope it is not egotistical to quote one's self again. The passage I subjoin, referring to Comte's separation from his wife and subsequent connexion with Clotilde, explains in some degree the evolution of the Religion out of the Philosophy. It must be remembered under what circumstances the words were spoken; I prefer to insert them as they were then delivered, instead of modifying them as I might perhaps be inclined to do now:—

"Mary of Bethany I would make the type of that trite and rudimentary truth—man's deep need of religion. Yes; the truth is trite and rudimentary enough. It is a truism as well as a truth; but it came to me supplemented with an illustration which may prove as interesting to you as to me.

"Some of you may be aware—others are not—that there is a system in our midst, represented, slenderly perhaps, but still represented, by individuals whose names are well known, which system professes to have outgrown all belief in, or need of, God and supernatural agencies; nay, to have also outstripped metaphysics, the science of mind, and to have reduced everything to positive knowledge.

"This you may say is simply the position of Atheism; but this is not quite the case; and *why* and how it is not so is the most curious part of the system. The man who elaborated that system for many years found it answer his purpose. At length, in face of an experience precisely the same as befel the sisters of Bethany, he found himself obliged to supplement his philosophy with a religion. One whom he loved died, and then his system failed him. Then there came home to the mind of this philosopher for the first time, as it would appear, a conviction of that poor truism which seemed just now so rudimentary—man's deep need of religion. But what was he to do? He had cut the ground from beneath his feet. He had ceased to believe, and made his many followers cease

to believe in God. They did not even believe in the noblest part of self. What then was left him? A 'Religion of Humanity' as it is termed. So grew up, out of its founder's sorrow, this strange system. The year is divided into thirteen lunar months, each named after some great man. Every day is dedicated to some minor celebrity—one day to the dead in general, one other to the memory of holy women. The calendar is studded with *fête* days just like a calendar of the saints. This is not the place to discuss the merits or demerits of the system; but this *is* the the place, and now, when that system is growing up in our midst, is surely the time for the preacher to put the fact in its true significance as a curious, a marvellous piece of evidence of that other fact (not so rudimentary as it might seem) of man's *deep need of religion.*

"Starting in absolute Atheism about the beginning of this century, it has resulted in this strange form of religion. The founder, only some fifteen years dead, actually preached and performed the marriage and burial services. Surely the deduction from this strange history is, not only man's deep need of religion, but the further truth that 'the old is better.' The God of Revelation is surely more worthy our worship than the God of Humanity—the God of Self, that is. The Church, with all her defects, all the fluctuations in her history, has surely served her purpose better, and presents to

us in the roll of her noble army something more worthy of our acceptance than a calendar which enshrines the names of Orpheus and Solon, and even condescends to chronicle S. Paul, but has no place for the name of Jesus of Nazareth.*

"There is nothing perhaps more useful than new and striking enforcements of old and familiar truths. You were, very likely, half inclined to resent the statement of such an elementary fact as man's need of religion. But I ask you, has not God's Finger written down a curious sanction of it in this growing system? The men who profess it are intellectual giants; they are active and energetic in all works of practical and social well-doing. But this is not enough; and they have unconsciously written down the fact for us that it is not enough. Man that is, has not only a body to be tended, and a mind to be educated, but a spirit to be trained for a life beyond the present.

"We are told that Society thus growing out of its need of God and belief in God, growing up to the merest materialism is typed by the life of the individual. Often too truly it is the case. The man,

* On a subsequent occasion I inserted the following:—"I have this afternoon listened to an able exposition of this doctrine; and being anxious to ascertain how *any* religious system could grow up in Comte's brain, was informed that Comte was insane when he was religious—though how to distinguish between Comte sane and Comte insane, we were not told. Comte certainly was insane, but at an early period of his life, when he formed his philosophy and *not* his religion!"

grown up from childhood *seems* to have outgrown God—*seems* to forget the nobler part of self—*seems* to be immersed in things of this world. *Seems*, but is not. You know—such of you as have at all experienced this in self—that, however far you seemed to get from God—however much you were led to sacrifice the higher to the lower impulses of your nature, there were times when this could not be the case. The spirit *would not* be ignored any more than the mind or the body. You could no more starve the spirit of communion with God than you could starve the body with impunity, or prevent the mind appropriating something to itself from surrounding influences.

"And oftenest—as in this Bethany household, and as in this strange system—it is sorrow that calls out the true self, and teaches the man or the woman what one would at first fancy the familiar lesson of their own inner needs."

On the subject of Comte's separation from his wife and subsequent connexion with Clotilde, Mr. Lewes writes thus:—"Into the domestic question I cannot enter. Be the blame of the failure chiefly hers or chiefly his, the failure sprang from conditions we cannot accurately appreciate. That the separation was her deed and not his, seems indisputable. . . . . It is clear, from many indications, that they quarrelled frequently and violently; their views of life were different, and probably the worldly views of the one

were a continual exasperation to the other; but it is also clear that he did not regard her as having done anything to forfeit his respect and admiration. He continued for some years to correspond with her on affectionate terms.

"It was," continues Mr. Lewes, "in the year 1845 that he first met Madame Clotilde de Vaux. There was a strange similarity in their widowed conditions. She was irrevocably separated from her husband by a crime which had condemned him to the galleys for life; yet, although morally free, she was legally bound to the man whose disgrace overshadowed her. Comte was also irrevocably separated from his wife by her voluntary departure; and, although morally free, was legally bound. Marriage being thus unhappily impossible, they had only the imperfect, yet inestimable, consolation of a pure and passionate friendship. He was fond of applying to her the lines of his favourite Dante—

> Quella che imparadisa mia mente
> Ogni basso pensier dal cor m'avulse.

Every one who knew him during this brief period of happiness will recall the mystic enthusiasm with which he spoke of her, and the irrepressible overflowing of his emotion which led him to speak of her at all times and to all listeners. It was in the early days of this attachment that I first saw him; and in the course of our very first interview he spoke of her with an expansiveness which was very interesting. When I

next saw him he was as expansive in his grief at her irreparable loss; and the tears rolled down his cheeks as he detailed her many perfections. His happiness had lasted but one year."

The context reminds one forcibly of a passage in the "Autobiography of John Stuart Mill." "Her death," continues Mr. Lewes, "made no change in his devotion. She underwent a transfiguration. Her subjective immortality became a real presence to his mystical affection. The remainder of his life was a perpetual hymn to her memory. Every week he visited her tomb: every day he prayed to her, and invoked her continual assistance. His published invocations and eulogies may call forth mockery from frivolous contemporaries—intense convictions and disinterested passions easily lending themselves to ridicule—but posterity will read in them a grave lesson, and will see that this modern Beatrice played a considerable part in the evolution of the Religion of Humanity.

"The increasing notoriety of the name of Auguste Comte is significant of a spreading sympathy and a spreading dread. In grave treatises, and in periodical works, his opinions are silently adopted, openly alluded to, and discussed with respect; but much oftener they furnish a flippant sentence to some jaunty journalist, or pander to the austere dishonesty of some polemical theologian. Indignation, scorn, and ridicule are poured forth with all the greater freedom, because usually unhampered by any first-hand knowledge.

"Meanwhile," it is so Mr. Lewes concludes his subject, "anarchy continues, and the Faith is slow in spreading."

I very much hope that, although I wrote these words first of all for a Manchester newspaper, I do not come under Mr. Lewes's category of a "jaunty journalist," as I am sure I do not under that of a polemical theologian. To me there is no problem half so interesting as that proposed for solution by the Positivist body; and I rejoice, whenever I have the opportunity, to transform myself into a disciple in the Chapel Street School. Plaster busts of the great of all ages stand on brackets round the walls, and pictures of sacred and secular subjects are hung between and beneath them. Of worship there is nothing, as far as I have seen; the object of the meeting being simply to listen to a lecture. I must confess I should vastly like to see the full ritual as organized by Comte himself carried out; but, as far as I can ascertain, this Chapel Street School is the only focus of the faith in London. I only wish that the other visits which I have had to pay in the execution of my now almost completed task were half so agreeable and instructive as those at the "Sunday School."

The following are the Positivist Calendar, and the course of Lectures thereupon, one of which I have reported above:—

POSITIVIST CALENDAR, ADAPTED TO ALL YEARS EQUALLY.

By Auguste Comte, *Founder of the Religion of Humanity.*

Days of the Week.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	FIRST MONTH. MOSES. THE INITIAL THEOCRACY.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	SECOND MONTH. HOMER. ANCIENT POETRY.
Mon.	Jan. 1	1 Prometheus ..... *Cadmus.*	Jan. 29	1 Hesiod
Tues.	„ 2	2 Hercules ..... *Theseus.*	„ 30	2 Tyrtæus ..... *Sappho.*
Wed.	„ 3	3 Orpheus ..... *Tiresias.*	„ 31	3 Anacreon
Thur.	„ 4	4 Ulysses	Feb. 1	4 Pindar
Fri.	„ 5	5 Lycurgus	„ 2	5 Sophocles ..... *Euripides.*
Sat.	„ 6	6 Romulus	„ 3	6 Theocritus ..... *Longus.*
Sun.	„ 7	7 **NUMA**	„ 4	7 **ÆSCHYLUS**
Mon.	„ 8	8 Belus ..... *Semiramis.*	„ 5	8 Scopas
Tues.	„ 9	9 Sesostris	„ 6	9 Zeuxis
Wed.	„ 10	10 Menu	„ 7	10 Ictinus
Thur.	„ 11	11 Cyrus	„ 8	11 Praxiteles
Fri.	„ 12	12 Zoroaster	„ 9	12 Lysippus
Sat.	„ 13	13 The Druids ..... *Ossian.*	„ 10	13 Apelles
Sun.	„ 14	14 **BUDDHA**	„ 11	14 **PHIDIAS**
Mon.	„ 15	15 Fo-Hi	„ 12	15 Æsop ..... *Pilpay.*
Tues.	„ 16	16 Lao-Tseu	„ 13	16 Plautus
Wed.	„ 17	17 Meng-Tseu	„ 14	17 Terence ..... *Menander.*
Thur.	„ 18	18 The Theocrats of Thibet	„ 15	18 Phædrus
Fri.	„ 19	19 The Theocrats of Japan	„ 16	19 Juvenal
Sat.	„ 20	20 Manco Capac ..... *Tamehameha.*	„ 17	20 Lucian
Sun.	„ 21	21 **CONFUCIUS**	„ 18	21 **ARISTOPHANES**
Mon.	„ 22	22 Abraham ..... *Joseph.*	„ 19	22 Ennius
Tues.	„ 23	23 Samuel	„ 20	23 Lucretius
Wed.	„ 24	24 Solomon ..... *David.*	„ 21	24 Horace
Thur.	„ 25	25 Isaiah	„ 22	25 Tibullus
Fri.	„ 26	26 St. John the Baptist [*III.*	„ 23	26 Ovid
Sat.	„ 27	27 Haroun-al-Raschid ... *Abderrahman*	„ 24	27 Lucan
Sun.	„ 28	28 **MAHOMET**	„ 25	28 **VIRGIL**

Days of the Week.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	THIRD MONTH. ARISTOTLE. ANCIENT PHILOSOPHY.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	FOURTH MONTH. ARCHIMEDES. ANCIENT SCIENCE.
Mon.	Feb. 26	1 Anaximander	Mar. 26	1 Theophrastus
Tues.	„ 27	2 Anaximenes	„ 27	2 Herophilus
Wed.	„ 28	3 Heraclitus	„ 28	3 Erasistratus
Thur.	Mar. 1	4 Anaxagoras	„ 29	4 Celsus
Fri.	„ 2	5 Democritus ..... *Leucippus.*	„ 30	5 Galen
Sat.	„ 3	6 Herodotus	„ 31	6 Avicenna ..... *Averrhoes.*
Sun.	„ 4	7 **THALES**	April 1	7 **HIPPOCRATES**
Mon.	„ 5	8 Solon	„ 2	8 Euclid
Tues.	„ 6	9 Xenophanes	„ 3	9 Aristæus
Wed.	„ 7	10 Empedocles	„ 4	10 Theodosius of Bithynia
Thur.	„ 8	11 Thucydides	„ 5	11 Hero ..... *Ctesibius.*
Fri.	„ 9	12 Archytas ..... *Philolaus.*	„ 6	12 Pappus
Sat.	„ 10	13 Apollonius of Tyana	„ 7	13 Diophantus
Sun.	„ 11	14 **PYTHAGORAS**	„ 8	14 **APOLLONIUS**
Mon.	„ 12	15 Aristippus	„ 9	15 Eudoxus ..... *Aratus*
Tues.	„ 13	16 Antisthenes	„ 10	16 Pytheas ..... *Nearchus.*
Wed.	„ 14	17 Zeno	„ 11	17 Aristarchus ..... *Berosus*
Thur.	„ 15	18 Cicero ..... *Pliny the Younger.*	„ 12	18 Eratosthenes ..... *Sosigenes*
Fri.	„ 16	19 Epictetus ..... *Arrian.*	„ 13	19 Ptolemy
Sat.	„ 17	20 Tacitus	„ 14	20 Albategnius ..... *Nasir-Eddin*
Sun.	„ 18	21 **SOCRATES**	„ 15	21 **HIPPARCHUS**
Mon.	„ 19	22 Xenocrates	„ 16	22 Varro
Tues.	„ 20	23 Philo of Alexandria	„ 17	23 Columella
Wed.	„ 21	24 St. John the Evangelist	„ 18	24 Vitruvius
Thur.	„ 22	25 St. Justin ..... *St. Irenæus.*	„ 19	25 Strabo
Fri.	„ 23	26 St. Clement of Alexandria	„ 20	26 Frontinus
Sat.	„ 24	27 Origen ..... *Tertullian.*	„ 21	27 Plutarch
Sun.	„ 25	28 **PLATO**	„ 22	28 **PLINY THE ELDER**

Days of the Week.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	FIFTH MONTH. CÆSAR. MILITARY CIVILIZATION.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	SIXTH MONTH. SAINT PAUL. CATHOLICISM.
Mon.	Apr. 23	1 Miltiades	May 21	1 St. Luke ..... *St. James.*
Tues.	„ 24	2 Leonidas	„ 22	2 St. Cyprian
Wed.	„ 25	3 Aristides	„ 23	3 St. Athanasius
Thur.	„ 26	4 Cimon	„ 24	4 St. Jerome
Fri.	„ 27	5 Xenophon	„ 25	5 St. Ambrose
Sat.	„ 28	6 Phocion ..... *Epaminondas.*	„ 26	6 St. Monica
SUN.	„ 29	7 **THEMISTOCLES**	„ 27	7 **ST. AUGUSTIN**
Mon.	„ 30	8 Pericles	„ 28	8 Constantine
Tues.	May 1	9 Philip	„ 29	9 Theodosius
Wed.	„ 2	10 Demosthenes	„ 30	10 St. Chrysostom ..... *St. Basil.*
Thur.	„ 3	11 Ptolemy Lagus	„ 31	11 St. Pulcheria ..... *Marcian.*
Fri.	„ 4	12 Philopœmen	June 1	12 St. Genevieve of Paris
Sat.	„ 5	13 Polybius	„ 2	13 St. Gregory the Great
SUN.	„ 6	14 **ALEXANDER**	„ 3	14 **HILDEBRAND**
Mon.	„ 7	15 Junius Brutus	„ 4	15 St. Benedict ..... *St. Antony.*
Tues.	„ 8	16 Camillus ..... *Cincinnatus.*	„ 5	16 St. Boniface ..... *St. Austin.*
Wed.	„ 9	17 Fabricius ..... *Regulus.*	„ 6	17 St. Isidore of Seville ..... *St. Bruno.*
Thur.	„ 10	18 Hannibal	„ 7	18 Lanfranc ..... *St. Anselm.*
Fri.	„ 11	19 Paulus Æmilius	„ 8	19 Heloise ..... *Beatrice.*
Sat.	„ 12	20 Marius ..... *The Gracchi.*	„ 9	20 The Architects of the Middle Ages
SUN.	„ 13	21 **SCIPIO**	„ 10	21 **St. BERNARD** *S. Bennet the Less*
Mon.	„ 14	22 Augustus ..... *Mæcenas.*	„ 11	22 St. Francis Xavier *Ignatius Loyola.*
Tues.	„ 15	23 Vespasian ..... *Titus.*	„ 12	23 St. Ch. Borromeo *Fredk. Borromeo.*
Wed.	„ 16	24 Hadrian ..... *Nerva.*	„ 13	24 St. Theresa ... *St. Catherine of Siena.*
Thur.	„ 17	25 Antoninus ..... *Marcus Aurelius.*	„ 14	25 St. Vincent de Paul *Abbé de l'Epée.*
Fri.	„ 18	26 Papinian ..... *Ulpian.*	„ 15	26 Bourdaloue ..... *Claude Fleury.*
Sat.	„ 19	27 Alexander Severus ..... *Aetius*	„ 16	27 William Penn ..... *George Fox.*
SUN.	„ 20	28 **TRAJAN**	„ 17	28 **BOSSUET**

Days of the Week.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	SEVENTH MONTH. CHARLEMAGNE. FEDERAL CIVILIZATION.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	EIGHTH MONTH. DANTE. MODERN EPIC POETRY.
Mon.	June 18	1 Theodoric the Great	July 16	1 The Troubadours
Tues.	„ 19	2 Pelayo	„ 17	2 Boccaccio ..... *Chaucer.*
Wed.	„ 20	3 Otho the Great ... *Henry the Fowler.*	„ 18	3 Rabelais ..... *Swift.*
Thur.	„ 21	4 St. Henry	„ 19	4 Cervantes
Fri.	„ 22	5 Villiers ..... *La Valette.*	„ 20	5 La Fontaine ..... *Burns.*
Sat.	„ 23	6 Don John of Austria *John Sobieski.*	„ 21	6 De Foe ..... *Goldsmith.*
SUN.	„ 24	7 **ALFRED**	„ 22	7 **ARIOSTO**
Mon.	„ 25	8 Charles Martel	„ 23	8 Leonardo da Vinci ..... *Titian.*
Tues.	„ 26	9 The Cid ..... *Tancred.*	„ 24	9 Michael Angelo ..... *Paul Veronese.*
Wed.	„ 27	10 Richard I. ..... *Saladin.*	„ 25	10 Holbein ..... *Rembrandt.*
Thur.	„ 28	11 Joan of Arc ..... *Marina.*	„ 26	11 Poussin ..... *Lesueur.*
Fri.	„ 29	12 Albuquerque ..... *Sir W. Raleigh.*	„ 27	12 Velasquez ..... *Murillo.*
Sat.	„ 30	13 Bayard	„ 28	13 Teniers ..... *Rubens.*
SUN.	July 1	14 **GODFREY**	„ 29	14 **RAPHAEL**
Mon.	„ 2	15 St. Leo the Great ..... *Leo IV.*	„ 30	15 Froissart ..... *Joinville.*
Tues.	„ 3	16 Gerbert ..... *Peter Damian.*	„ 31	16 Camoens ..... *Spenser.*
Wed.	„ 4	17 Peter the Hermit	Aug. 1	17 The Spanish Romancers
Thur.	„ 5	18 Suger ..... *St. Eligius.*	„ 2	18 Chateaubriand
Fri.	„ 6	19 Alexander III. ..... *Becket.*	„ 3	19 Walter Scott ..... *Cooper.*
Sat.	„ 7	20 St. Francis of Assisi ..... *St. Dominic.*	„ 4	20 Manzoni
SUN.	„ 8	21 **INNOCENT III.**	„ 5	21 **TASSO**
Mon.	„ 9	22 St. Clotilde	„ 6	22 Petrarca [*and Bunyan.*
Tues.	„ 10	23 St. Bathilda *St. Mathilda of Tuscany.*	„ 7	23 Thos. à Kempis ... *Louis of Granada*
Wed.	„ 11	24 St. Stephen of Hungary ... *Mat. Cor-*	„ 8	24 Mme. de Lafayette ... *Mme. de Staël.*
Thur.	„ 12	25 St. Elizabeth of Hungary [*vinus.*	„ 9	25 Fénélon ..... *St. Francis of Sales.*
Fri.	„ 13	26 Blanche of Castile	„ 10	26 Klopstock ..... *Gessner.*
Sat.	„ 14	27 St. Ferdinand III. ..... *Alfonso X.*	„ 11	27 Byron ..... *Eliza Mercœur, Shelley.*
SUN.	„ 15	28 **SAINT LOUIS**	„ 12	28 **MILTON**

Days of the Week.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	NINTH MONTH. GUTENBERG. MODERN INDUSTRY.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	TENTH MONTH. SHAKSPEARE. THE MODERN DRAMA.
Mon.	Aug. 13	1 Marco Polo ..... *Chardin.*	Sept. 10	1 Lopez de Vega ..... *Montalvan.*
Tues.	„ 14	2 Jaques Cœur ..... *Gresham.*	„ 11	2 Moreto..... *Guillem de Castro.*
Wed.	„ 15	3 Vasco de Gama ..... *Magellan.*	„ 12	3 Rojas ..... *Guevara.*
Thur.	„ 16	4 Napier ..... *Briggs.*	„ 13	4 Otway
Fri.	„ 17	5 Lacaille ..... *Delambre.*	„ 14	5 Lessing
Sat.	„ 18	6 Cook ..... *Tasman.*	„ 15	6 Goethe
SUN.	„ 19	7 COLUMBUS	„ 16	7 CALDERON
Mon.	„ 20	8 Benvenuto Cellini	„ 17	8 Tirso
Tues.	„ 21	9 Amontons ..... *Wheatstone.*	„ 18	9 Vondel
Wed.	„ 22	10 Harrison ..... *Pierre Leroy.*	„ 19	10 Racine
Thur.	„ 23	11 Dollond ..... *Graham.*	„ 20	11 Voltaire
Fri.	„ 24	12 Arkwright ..... *Jacquard.*	„ 21	12 Metastasio ..... *Alfieri.*
Sat.	„ 25	13 Conté	„ 22	13 Schiller
SUN.	„ 26	14 VAUCANSON	„ 23	14 CORNEILLE
Mon.	„ 27	15 Stevin ..... *Torricelli.*	„ 24	15 Alarcon
Tues.	„ 28	16 Mariotte..... *Boyle.*	„ 25	16 Mme. de Moteville ...*Mme. Roland.*
Wed.	„ 29	17 Papin ..... *Worcester.*	„ 26	17 Mme. de Sévigné ...*Lady Montagu.*
Thur.	„ 30	18 Black	„ 27	18 Lesage ..... *Sterne.*
Fri.	„ 31	19 Jouffroy ..... *Fulton.*	„ 28	19 Madame de Staël ...*Miss Edgeworth.*
Sat.	Sept. 1	20 Dalton ..... *Thilorier.*	„ 29	20 Fielding ..... *Richardson.*
SUN.	„ 2	21 WATT	„ 30	21 MOLIERE
Mon.	„ 3	22 Bernard de Palissy	Oct. 1	22 Pergolesi ..... *Palestrina.*
Tues.	„ 4	23 Guglielmini..... *Riquet.*	„ 2	23 Sacchini ..... *Grétry.*
Wed.	„ 5	24 Duhamel (du Monceau)...*Bourgelat.*	„ 3	24 Gluck ..... *Lully.*
Thur.	„ 6	25 Saussure ..... *Bouguer.*	„ 4	25 Beethoven ..... *Handel.*
Fri.	„ 7	26 Coulomb ..... *Borda.*	„ 5	26 Rossini..... *Weber.*
Sat.	„ 8	27 Carnot ..... *Vauban.*	„ 6	27 Bellini ..... *Donizetti.*
SUN.	„ 9	28 MONTGOLFIER	„ 7	28 MOZART

Days of the Week.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	ELEVENTH MONTH. DESCARTES. MODERN PHILOSOPHY.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	TWELFTH MONTH. FREDERICK II. MODERN POLICY.
Mon.	Oct. 8	1 Albertus Magnus *John of Salisbury.*	Nov. 5	1 Marie de Molina
Tues	„ 9	2 Roger Bacon ..... *Raymond Lully.*	„ 6	2 Cosmo di Medici the Elder
Wed.	„ 10	3 St. Bonaventura ..... *Joachim.*	„ 7	3 Philip de Comines..... *Guicciardini.*
Thur.	„ 11	4 Ramus ..... *The Cardinal of Cusa.*	„ 8	4 Isabella of Castile
Fri.	„ 12	5 Montaigne ..... *Erasmus.*	„ 9	5 Charles V. ..... *Sixtus V.*
Sat.	„ 13	6 Campanella ..... *Sir Thomas More.*	„ 10	6 Henri IV.
SUN.	„ 14	7 ST. THOMAS AQUINAS	„ 11	7 LOUIS XI.
Mon.	„ 15	8 Hobbes ..... *Spinoza.*	„ 12	8 L'Hôpital
Tues.	„ 16	9 Pascal ..... *Giordino Bruno.*	„ 13	9 Barneveldt
Wed.	„ 17	10 Locke ..... *Malebranche.*	„ 14	10 Gustavus Adolphus
Thur.	„ 18	11 Vauvenargues..... *Mme. de Lambert.*	„ 15	11 De Witt
Fri.	„ 19	12 Diderot ..... *Duclos.*	„ 16	12 Ruyter
Sat.	„ 20	13 Cabanis ..... *George Leroy.*	„ 17	13 William III.
SUN.	„ 21	14 LORD BACON	„ 18	14 WILLIAM THE SILENT
Mon.	„ 22	15 Grotius ..... *Cujas.*	„ 19	15 Ximenes
Tues.	„ 23	16 Fontenelle ..... *Maupertuis.*	„ 20	16 Sully ..... *Oxenstiern.*
Wed.	„ 24	17 Vico ..... *Herder.*	„ 21	17 Mazarin ..... *Walpole.*
Thur.	„ 25	18 Fréret ..... *Wincklemann.*	„ 22	18 Colbert..... *Louis XIV.*
Fri.	„ 26	19 Montesquieu ..... *d'Aguesseau.*	„ 23	19 D'Aranda ..... *Pombal.*
Sat.	„ 27	20 Buffon ..... *Oken.*	„ 24	20 Turgot ..... *Campomanes.*
SUN.	„ 28	21 LEIBNITZ	„ 25	21 RICHELIEU
Mon.	„ 29	22 Robertson ..... *Gibbon.*	„ 26	22 Sidney ..... *Lambert.*
Tues.	„ 30	23 Adam Smith ..... *Dunoyer.*	„ 27	23 Franklin ..... *Hampden.*
Wed.	„ 31	24 Kant ..... *Fichte.*	„ 28	24 Washington ..... *Kosiusko.*
Thur.	Nov. 1	25 Condorcet ..... *Ferguson.*	„ 29	25 Jefferson ..... *Madison.*
Fri.	„ 2	26 Joseph de Maistre ..... *Bonald.*	„ 30	26 Bolivar ..... *Toussaint L'Ouverture.*
Sat.	„ 3	27 Hegel ..... *Sophie Germain.*	Dec. 1	27 Francia
SUN.	„ 4	28 HUME	„ 2	28 CROMWELL

Days of the Week.	Days of the Civil Calendar.	THIRTEENTH MONTH. **BICHAT.** MODERN SCIENCE.
Mon.	Dec. 3	1 Copernicus .....*Tycho Brahé.*
Tues.	„ 4	2 Kepler .....*Halley.*
Wed.	„ 5	3 Huyghens .....*Varignon.*
Thur.	„ 6	4 James Bernouilli ...*John Bernouilli.*
Fri.	„ 7	5 Bradley .....*Roemer.*
Sat.	„ 8	6 Volta .....*Sauveur.*
SUN.	„ 9	7 GALILEO
Mon.	„ 10	8 Vieta .....*Harriott.*
Tues.	„ 11	9 Wallis .....*Fermat.*
Wed.	„ 12	10 Clairaut .....*Poinsot.*
Thur.	„ 13	11 Euler .....*Monge.*
Fri.	„ 14	12 D'Alembert.....*Daniel Bernouilli.*
Sat.	„ 15	13 Lagrange .....*Joseph Fourier.*
SUN.	„ 16	14 NEWTON
Mon.	„ 17	15 Bergmann .....*Scheele.*
Tues.	„ 18	16 Priestley.....*Davy.*
Wed.	„ 19	17 Cavendish
Thur.	„ 20	18 Guyton Morveau.....*Geoffroy.*
Fri.	„ 21	19 Berthollet
Sat.	„ 22	20 Berzelius .....*Ritter.*
SUN.	„ 23	21 LAVOISIER
Mon.	„ 24	22 Harvey .....*Ch. Bell.*
Tues.	„ 25	23 Boërhaave .....*Stahl.*
Wed.	„ 26	24 Linnæus .....*Bernard de Jussieu.*
Thur.	„ 27	25 Haller .....*Vicq d'Azyr.*
Fri.	„ 28	26 Lamarck .....*Blainville.*
Sat.	„ 29	27 Broussais .....*Morgagni.*
SUN.	„ 30	28 GALL

Complementary Day (Dec. 31).....Festival of all THE DEAD.

Additional Day in Leap-year.....Festival of HOLY WOMEN.

NOTE.—In Leap-years the first of March and all subsequent days will coincide with the day following that to which they are placed opposite in this Calendar. The names in Italics are those of the persons who, in Leap-years, take the places of their Principals.

A Course of Lectures, by DR. BRIDGES, *upon the Principal Names of the* POSITIVIST CALENDAR. *These names are as follows:—*

I. MOSES, with whom are associated	Numa, Buddha,	Confucius, Mahomet.
II. HOMER, with whom are associated.....	Æschylus, Phidias,	Aristophanes, Virgil.
III. ARISTOTLE, with whom are associated	Thales, Pythagoras,	Socrates, Plato.
IV. ARCHIMEDES, with whom are associated	Hippocrates, Apollonius,	Hipparchus, Pliny.
V. CÆSAR, with whom are associated	Themistocles, Alexander,	Scipio, Trajan.
VI. St. PAUL, with whom are associated	St. Augustin, Hildebrand,	St. Bernard, Bossuet.
VII. CHARLEMAGNE, with whom are associated	Alfred, Godfrey of Bouillon,	Innocent III. St. Louis.
VIII. DANTE, with whom are associated	Ariosto, Raphael,	Tasso, Milton.
IX. GUTENBERG, with whom are associated.....	Columbus, Vaucanson,	Watt, Montgolfier.
X. SHAKSPEARE, with whom are associated	Calderon, Corneille,	Molière, Mozart.
XI. DESCARTES, with whom are associated	St. Thomas Aquinas, Bacon,	Leibnitz, Hume.
XII. FREDERIC OF PRUSSIA, with whom are associated	Louis XI. William the Silent,	Richelieu, Cromwell.
XIII. BICHAT, with whom are associated	Galileo, Newton,	Lavoisier, Gall.

These Lectures, like all others given at the Positivist School, are Free to all.

SPOUTING AT COGERS' HALL.

Down one of the slummy byeways which diverge from Fleet Street—that wondrous centre of the newsmongers, where they spend their time in learning or telling some new thing, like the Athenians of old—there stands a public-house bearing the title, at once pretentious and convivial, of Cogers' Hall. I am no antiquary, and never busied myself to inquire into the origin of the appellation; nor have I any notion where the apostrophe ought to stand in the word, or even whether there should be an apostrophe at all. Cogers' Hall was known to me when I was a Slave of the Lamp on the London Press, as a supper house where I was wont to beguile an hour in the course of the evening by eating a capital Welsh rarebit, smoking a long clay, and moistening my own clay with a glass of whisky and water, whilst I listened simultaneously to discussions *de omnibus rebus et quibusdum aliis.* A knot of clever tap-room orators—I hope the term is not an offensive one—gather nightly at Cogers' Hall and discourse learnedly on all things in heaven, on earth, and under the earth, but chiefly on British politics. It was a nice free and easy way of combining instruction, not exactly with

amusement, but with nutrition; and although I am no more sorry to have left my nightwork behind me than I am to have discarded my boyish tunic and corduroys, still I like to look in at Cogers' occasionally, just as we all like to go back to the old schoolhouse and look at the name we carved on the desk at the time when we inhabited the tunic and trousers aforesaid. Perhaps the pleasure I feel is due to contrasting my present state of freedom with that past condition of bondage. I often wonder whether ordinary, unromantic prisoners in Newgate, or the places whither small debtors gravitate, feel the same sort of attachment to their dungeons as Silvio Pellico did, and whether that accounts for the large number of second convictions we read and hear of. It was rather like a privileged Peri voluntarily quitting Paradise and taking a look at Purgatory; but I determined to kick off my slippers and shake myself clear of my dressing-gown the other night, and start for Fleet Street. It was a thoroughly characteristic evening I selected. In fact, I would not give a straw to visit these haunts except under conditions of proper local colour. Fleet Street on a bright moonlight night is a mistake. I used to run so as not to see the summer dawn when I left the newspaper office in the small hours. About midsummer I could not escape it, of course. It would steal incongruously over the chimney-pots, making the cats and policemen who monopolized the streets look

real ridiculous—as Sam Slick says. But the evening I chose for my visit to Cogers' was a thoroughly appropriate one. The whole scene was suggestive of pea-soup. It lay in native fluidity on the roads and pavements. It was vapourized into fog and Scotch mist above. The sky was palpable *purée aux croutons.* The whole scene resembled a very turbid Turner's picture, utterly uncomfortable, but highly picturesque and quite *sui generis.*

Let no one whose object is simply to hear the oratory of the Ancient Society of Cogers—"established 1755," as the lamp over the doorway informs him—present himself at the portal before half-past nine o'clock, for he will have to wait until that somewhat untimely hour before the fun begins. As I was a "chiel takin' notes," it did not matter in my case. I wanted to look about me; and I had ample time, for I got there at eight o'clock. By a placard outside the door, I learnt that the subject of discussion for the evening was, "The Newcastle Election," which was to be treated by a "Dispassionate Eclectic." The gentleman who had assumed this mystic alias, however, had no wish to conceal his identity, for he was also described by his ordinary title of Mr. M'Gilchrist. I do not know that the subject was particularly attractive, but I remember the opener of the debate as a racy speaker, and thought I might as well go in at once as stop outside in the pea-soup, the more liquid portion of which was beginning to come

down in the shape of something more than a drizzle. Some half-dozen *habitués* were scattered over the long room as I entered, earlier even than myself, and among them, in seediest of attire, the well-remembered form of Mr. M'Gilchrist himself. He was in close confab with another man, and looked as little likely to "orate" as any one I ever saw. Two respectable tradesmen were discussing the comparative merits of red and yellow pine planks at a centre table, and a feeble old man, destined as "Vice" to occupy a chair at the nether end of the room, uncomfortable as a monkish Miserere, was dothering about the place, and finally settled down to coffee. I supped and read the "Siliad," which I had bought *en route* in Booksellers-row; but was astonished to find that scarcely thirty people had gathered when it was time to begin. Having smoked a cigar and eaten several lumps of loaf sugar, the Dispassionate Eclectic took his seat on the right of the chair, which was itself filled by a sharp bead-eyed little man, who smoked a long clay pipe, and had a steaming glass of something comfortable before him. Somebody proposed that the opener of the debate should refresh prior to commencing his harangue; and the Dispassionate Eclectic, expressing audibly his opinion that such a process would do him no harm, ordered, "Hot rum." He divided his modicum into two portions, so as to take it hot and hot during his speech. I could not help noticing that he spoke almost deferentially to the waiter when he

asked for a second tumbler, and I felt an old sensation coming over me that Mr. M'Gilchrist's talents deserved a better sphere.

At length, in deference to a decisive "go on," he went on. He began by explaining and defending his title of a Dispassionate Eclectic. He simply meant, he said, that he was not prone to perform an act of servile homage (of which I cannot even hint the nature) to Mr. Gladstone, as the *Daily Telegraph* did, nor, on the other hand, did he long to apply his foot offensively to that gentleman's person after the manner of the *Standard.* If I succeed, in this veiled way, to convey to my readers the forcible but inelegant manner in which this Dispassionate Eclectic opened, I shall have justified forthwith his being included in the somewhat heterodox list of names I have to do with. He contrasted the scantiness of the present Liberal majority in Newcastle with the larger numbers of previous years, and confessed that the discrepancy was significant. In terse and telling sentences he sketched the position of Newcastle as comparatively isolated, unlike the other large towns of the north which lay "in a pack," and so virtually still the metropolis of Northumbria. Joe Cowen—it was thus familiarly he spoke of the nascent M.P.—was the son of a father who took his daughters to church on Sundays; but Joe had got mixed up with the Holyoake lot, and was moreover a teetotaller in a city where there were 1200 publicans. He had

against him, then, Toryism *en masse*, alcohol *en masse*, and also the frightened Whigs. The working men who sought to vote for Joe, were prevented by the crowded state of the booths during dinner hour, so that they lost their only chance, and Joe's majority was thereby narrowed.

But, in the first place, said our Dispassionate Eclectic, this event reminded us that we wanted to get rid of the "infernal nuisance" of elections turning so entirely on the Permissive Bill and alcohol questions—the Beer and Pump interests, as he would term them. People merged all political differences in hatred of grog, and elevated water into a cardinal virtue. What use was it to grumble if a cure could not be found for drinking? Here the Dispassionate Eclectic raised his tumbler of "hot rum" to his eloquent lips, and the coincidence caused a laugh among his audience. You may laugh, he said, but can you find the cure? In the opinion of the Eclectic the Government ought once and for all to declare its policy on this liquor question.

A second "infernal nuisance" was the Home Rule question; but on this point "Joe," he held, had given in his adhesion when he spoke generally in favour of local self-government. But the third, and most important point was that, though "Joe" had not actually risen from the ranks, he was strong on all Radical measures. Whiggism—and this was really the question raised by our Dispassionate Eclectic—had been

practically effete since 1868. Sir George Grey had made a virtue of retiring from Morpeth, but it was really because five-sixths—if not seven-eighths—of the constituency had solicited a working man's candidate to stand. When asked to explain the attitude of Mr. Gladstone, the *Daily Telegraph* said he was "resting on his oars," the *Times* that "people were tired of sweeping changes." So he took this Newcastle election as a type of what the general election would be. We were apathetic now, but should be excited then; and, although he seldom indulged in vaticination, he prophesied that there would be few candidates on the old Whig programme, but lots like "Joe." That was the bone of contention he threw down for the Cogers to discuss.

A bearded man named French replied, and confessed himself disappointed with the Dispassionate Eclectic. When a man gave himself that name, he generally found him turn out a rabid Radical; and he was sorry to find that Mr. M'Gilchrist had done so on this occasion. He held that the so-called effete Whigs were the men of the future. People were tired of the "blazing" policy of Gladstone and the no-policy of Disraeli. On the liquor subject the question was grog or no grog. It was a question between despotism and freedom. We ought to be able to drink when we wanted. He, as a press man, wanted to drink just at the time when the publics were closed. Somebody suggested that the Ben Jonson had an

exceptional licence in favour of press men, and was open all night, to which Mr. French replied that the Ben Jonson made its monopoly an excuse for vending inferior liquids. No, Whiggism was not effete—witness the Lancashire elections. As comes the voice of Lancashire, so—said Mr. Gladstone himself—comes the voice of England. The narrow majority of "Joe" was practically a defeat.

The little dark man in the chair laid aside his churchwarden and spoke discursively, but nobody listened. Some Newcastle men, who had eaten Welsh rarebits and drunk stout on the side benches, rose up and went. The "Vice" had more coffee, and the Dispassionate Eclectic was supplied condescendingly by the waiter with a huge lump of cheese and bread and a foaming glass of beer. As I rose to go I saw—and saw with pain—a kindly old gentleman, who was sitting next the Dispassionate Eclectic, and eating a plate of cold meat, surreptitiously transfer half of his portion on to the plate of the Dispassionate Eclectic, who clearly thought this would do him no harm, and proceeded to eat it accordingly; but the waiter, who was ubiquitous and all-seeing, as his craft mostly are, espied the transfer, and looked indignantly at the Dispassionate Eclectic, as though he had lent himself to an irregular and heterodox proceeding. There was a good deal of very plain speaking at Cogers' Hall, besides the inelegant exordium I have been

unable to report; but I could not help thinking that places like these act very much as safety valves, enabling these rabid Radicals and Dispassionate Eclectics to let off the steam. Perhaps if other countries had some kindred institutions we should hear of fewer *coups d'état* and political complications in general.

So meditating, I passed out into the pea-soup, as did most of the rest, and the harmless little bead-eyed chairman was "left speaking."

SOMERS TOWN ON BIBLE SLAVERY.

Of all the unholy haunts into which my pursuit of heterodoxy has led me, decidedly the unholiest is Somers Town. There is a suburban sound in the title which ill prepares one for the reality; and although I cannot say I expected anything very romantic, I was not prepared for the actual slumminess which supervened upon me when, in consequence of information I had received from the columns of the *National Reformer*, I went one Tuesday evening to hear the latter of two discussions at Middlesex Hall on the interesting question, "Does the Bible teach Slavery?" I had only the vague idea that Somers Town was somewhere near King's Cross Station; and when I reached that point I was really adrift: but, passing behind the cathedral-like structure of the Midland Railway Station, soon found myself, as usual too early, in the precincts of Middlesex Hall. Turning to my right from the Euston Road, I had to turn to my left to get into Chapel Street, and to my right again to reach Middlesex Street. Such were the directions I received from an aborigine outside a flaunting public-house. Chapel Street I found to be one of the most characteristic localities I ever visited.

There was a sort of permanent market going on there; a double row of costermongers' trucks lining the street, while the shops were driving a busy trade too, so that there were four rows of emporiums all in full action at once in busy Chapel Street. The shops were chiefly devoted to boots and shoes of fabulous cheapness, or composed of butchers' stalls where garrulous salesmen exhorted non-existent "ladies" to "buy, buy." The roadway was very much absorbed in the dissemination of vegetables, salads, &c., all of which looked temptingly fresh, and were arranged in thumping penny "lots;" though here too there were trucks for the sale of liver, tripe, &c., which did not look by any means so attractive. I have reason to believe that anything from a boot-lace to a round of beef could be purchased in the great bazaar of Chapel Street, Somers Town.

My mission in these heretical expeditions of mine seems, I regret to state, very often to resolve itself into scandalizing some good orthodox people. I paced Middlesex Street from end to end, and there was only one building I could see in the most distant degree resembling a "Hall," and that turned out to be a Sunday school. I went in, emboldened by success in many a previous expedition, and anxious only on the score of being a quarter of an hour before time; when, on inquiring whether that were the arena for discussion on Biblical Slavery, I was answered in a pert negative by a pug-nosed little pupil teacher,

and referred to the other end of the street, on the opposite side of the way. While I went out the occupants of the Sunday school commenced a sort of defiant psalm-singing, levelled, I have no doubt, at myself; for I ought to mention that in those evening escapades I array myself in the seediest of overcoats, with a brigand hat, which I purchased specially for Grafton Hall on St. Patrick's Day, unclerical trousers, with a fierce stripe down the sides, and boots which have seen very much better days. In fact, I try to impersonate the not-very-well-to-do working-man of advanced opinions, and sometimes wish I wore a beard and could induce the signs of labour on my hands; for I find where the people do not know me they glance very suspiciously at me—I fancy, on the score of my Jacob-like chin and my inartistic hands. Gloves, of course, would betray me on the spot.

From beneath a low-arched passage higher up the street, and on the other side of the way, as Miss Pugnose had said, I heard the sounds of an awful brass band proceeding, and thought possibly that might be a preliminary flourish of trumpets before the impending Bible study. It was Middlesex Hall, sure enough, and a placard outside announced the discussion which had attracted me; but I thought I would let them get the overture—if such it should prove to be—done before I went in. I therefore paced Middlesex Street, and took another turn through the

Chapel Street Bazaar. When I came back the minstrelsy had ceased. In I went, therefore, and was directed to pass to the reserved seats; somebody would come by-and-by and take my twopence.

It was the usual type of "Hall," and a gentleman, who afterwards turned out to be the chairman, was engaged in propping up the rickety balustrade of the platform with pieces of firewood, and then tying the desk which it supported with a piece of string; for the whole affair swayed about on the slightest provocation, and might really prove dangerous if speakers waxed warm in debate. This done, the audience having assembled, and somebody volunteered to collect the pence, the chairman assumed his place, and the two disputants, each bearing a newspaper parcel of books for quotation, took chairs on his right and left; an attendant at the same time putting a jug of water, almost as big as an ewer, and a glass on a box within easy reach of the speakers.

As this was the second lecture or discussion, it may be as well briefly to post up my readers in the first by quoting the report of the *National Reformer*:—

"Middlesex Hall, Middlesex Street, Somers Town.—The first of two evenings' debate on the question, 'Does the Bible Teach Slavery?' took place here on Tuesday evening last, between Messrs. W. Hale and T. Harrington. The former opened in the affirmative, by quoting Noah's curse of Canaan,

and the several laws relating to the subject to be found in the Pentateuch, such as that the Jews were to purchase bondmen and bondmaids of the heathen round about, as a possession for ever; supplementing his quotations by the authority of men eminent in the Christian Church, to the effect that these texts justified slave-dealing and slave-holding. Mr. Harrington denied that the texts quoted proved his opponent's case, because, according to Kalisch, the Hebrew word used did not mean slave, and proceeded to deal with the several passages on this understanding, and stated that where a man was said to be sold, he had simply sold himself for a given number of years. He also quoted texts against cruelty and injustice, and contended that these were incompatible with slavery as known in modern times. A vote of thanks to the chairman (Mr. Turpin) closed the proceedings. The debate will be concluded next Tuesday evening, April 7th, at 8.15. Admission 1*d.*—A. E. Jackson."

On this occasion, Mr. Harrington, a respectable and somewhat youthful working man, opened the debate and drew attention to the disadvantage he laboured under in having to do so on the negative side. He alluded ironically to his opponent's previous practice in debate, whereas he himself was only a plain man, fitter to sit at the feet of such a Gameeliel (*sic*) than to argue with him. He read a long definition of slavery as it existed in Greece and Rome, from

Professor Bekker, and then launched forth into a really eloquent picture of a gathering of slaves at some great pagan centre, such as Corinth or Ephesus—slaves who were reduced to the condition of human chattels from no fault or crime of their own, but simply because their skin was black instead of white. A reader came among them and read Christ's Golden Rule and other texts, which the speaker quoted in great abundance, and made them exclaim, "Listen to what that man is *a-saying of*. He says we are all one family, and that no man has a right to own us." He quoted from Barnes an apposite story, of a man who had bought a "bright-haired girl" in a slave-market, and afterwards found she was his own sister. Such was the discovery which the slaveholder made under Christianity; and the speaker urged with much warmth, and not without a certain rough eloquence, that there was in the New Testament no explicit statement in favour of slavery. Even in Paul's Epistle to Philĕmon (I was afraid he would call him so, and he did), he urged, after reading nearly the whole letter, (1) that there was no positive evidence that Onesimus was a slave in our sense of the term. The Greek word δοῦλος, he said, meant a servant in any capacity; (2) there was no evidence that Paul forced or even advised Onesimus to return; (3) even if he were a slave, it was questionable whether he returned to that condition; and (4) it was distinctly said, in v. 16, that after his return he was to be no more

considered a servant. When Ignatius wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians, the bishop of that Church was named Onesimus, and was supposed by commentators to be this identical person. Cheever, whom his opponent had allowed on a previous occasion to be a just and good man, and whose words he argued must therefore be true, had said that it was quite impossible to carry out Christ's Golden Rule in the case of a slave, and that the whole Bible from Genesis to Revelation was one continual line of fire against this iniquity. The duties of husbands towards their wives, and children towards their parents, became impossible in a state of slavery. Thomas Paine himself said that Jesus Christ preached excellent morality, and taught the equality of man; and Robert Owen, that He required all men to love one another; and how could this be if He sanctioned the idea that man was a chattel?

Mr. Harrington's half-hour was now up, and Mr. Hale advanced to the gingerbread balustrade, quaffing a long draught from the washing jug as he did so. In fact, both the disputants were profuse in their potations of cold water.

He complained, in broad provincial dialect, of Mr. Harrington's quotation of irrelevant texts, and assured him he had no intention of resting his case only on Philemon—the quantity of whose penultimate he relieved me by correcting. After making severe onslaughts on Mr. Harrington's numerous quotations from sacred and secular writers, Mr. Hale

thus clinched the case. His opponent had—so he said—conceded the fact that slavery did exist in the Old Testament, though slaves were to be manumitted at the Year of Jubilee. Christ, in Matt. v. 17—"I will give you chapter and verse if you want it," he said, triumphantly—had stated it to be His mission "not to destroy but to fulfil the Law," *ergo* He did not destroy the legal institution of slavery. The passages which bade men not resist evil, and turn to the smiter the smitten cheek, were, he said, calculated to sanction any iniquity, moral or physical; and St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, said "the powers that be are ordained of God," and were not to be resisted. Were slaveholders not a power? He read a long passage from Theodore Parker, defending the conduct of Judas Iscariot on these grounds. He was bound to betray Christ—in fact, both Christ and the Apostles upheld the system then in vogue, and advised obedience to masters, not only to the good and gentle, but likewise to the froward.

Each of the disputants had now had half an hour for main speech; and then followed a quarter of an hour's reply on both sides. In their second speeches, however, they left the case very much where it was before; and I was less interested in the debate itself than in the keen, eager faces of the listeners, who followed it attentively, and applauded equally when a point was made on either side. They were mostly genuine working-men, in their working clothes, and

with signs of the day's toil upon them; and it was really a curious problem as to how they could be brought to feel interest in an archaic question like that proposed. There was only one woman present at the debate, and she looked like a decent matronly person returning from a day's charing or washing—very much the same sort of congregation one gathers at a school or cottage lecture, only—and this it was that struck me—with the preponderance of numbers on the men's side. Why should we not organize orthodox discussions, where everybody should have the chance of ventilating his opinions, and all command a "clear stage and no favour?"

Good might be done, I could not help thinking, as I passed once more through busy Chapel Street, by thus coming down from Coward's Castle and inducing a healthy collision of thought. Why should we leave this Socratic method entirely to the heterodox and the heretical?

A further idea struck me too in reference to this discussion. If it did nothing else, it made both sides read their Bibles. If one tripped at a text the other was down upon him in a moment. It may be a little Jesuitical, perhaps, but an energetic curate who believed in Bible-reading would do well to invite any Freethinker in his parish to a discussion in the schoolroom, if only with the ulterior object of forcing him to post himself up in the *litera scripta* of the Sacred Writings.

VEGETARIANISM.

If Heterodoxy be understood according to its etymology as thinking differently from other people, there can be no question as to the title of this particular "ism" to stand on my voluminous list of religious and social heresies.

A "good cut at a sirloin" has always been considered the standard of dietetic excellence for the full-blooded Englishman; and to exchange that standard for a leguminous or farinaceous one has certainly never been dreamed of in our philosophy until the present crisis in the kitchen. But there is a noticeable tendency at the present moment to go to the basis of things, and accept nothing as final until proved by argument or experience. The age that has opened the question whether alcohol is wholesome may be expected—after some inevitable delay perhaps—to enter on the more revolutionary question still, whether flesh be a necessity of diet, at all events in anything like the proportions it has hitherto borne. Having the question forced upon me, then, not only as the social topic of the hour, but as an item of housekeeping assuming every day more formidable proportions, I resolved to open up in the most prac-

tical way possible the whole question of dietary. I sought, and soon found, a gentleman who had been a vegetarian for a quarter of a century, and who, I heard, had brought up a stalwart family of nine on a system of housekeeping from which flesh meat was rigidly excluded. This was the very man I wanted. Of course, like everybody with a hobby, he was glad of an opportunity to ventilate his. The following is the result of my colloquy :—

I must not, of course, violate confidence by giving even the slightest hint as to my informant's name and local habitation, though, as I was a perfect stranger to him, I have every reason to believe he would as readily impart to any member of the community the results of his experience as he did to me. As I sat in his office there entered to me—as the stage phrase goes—a well-built man of middle height, lacking equally the emaciation or the adiposity which one is accustomed to associate with the adoption of a vegetable diet. He looked neither thin, like our conventional Yankee, nor fat, like a priest towards Eastertide, but was a lithe, active-looking, healthy paterfamilias, decidedly juvenile for a progenitor of nine. He will, I am sure, excuse this pen-and-ink photograph. The portrait, though faithful, will be flattering; and it is most pertinent to my present purpose. Had my typical vegetarian been too thin or too stout, too sallow or too rubicund, I might have been discouraged at the outset. This healthy-

looking gentleman, with the crisp curly hair and beard one always attributes to a Hercules, startled me with a favourable impression as to the flesh-making and health-sustaining properties of whatever pabulum he might have adopted. Another point that told immensely in his favour with me was that he was the reverse of pig-headed, which is not always the case with men who have ideas or hobbies. He began by assuring me that, though he was a vegetarian and a water-drinker, he had made no savage vows in either capacity. He would sometimes, upon compulsion, not from choice, pick a bit of fish, fowl, or even flesh; he was not guiltless of an occasional glass of brandy and water, though, from long disuse, he always felt more or less uncomfortable after either. The solid was not easily assimilated, and the alcohol left an unpleasant tingling in his system for four-and-twenty hours, as though to give him a gentle reminder that he had been trespassing.

I checked—politely I trust—a tendency on the part of my friend to wander back to the Garden of Eden. I quite conceded the point that a vegetable diet was all that could be gathered from Genesis, and even that the use of flesh meat might be a part of the Fall; but, to come to the question at issue in my mind—

"What, Sir," I said, "did you have for breakfast this morning? What will you have for dinner, tea, and supper?"

Smiling at the practical form my questions took, he

told me he had just partaken of two slices of Neville's bread, with some figs and a glass of water. "This," he added, handing me a paper bag containing two or three slices of plum-cake, "with a draught of water from yonder decanter will be my dinner. For tea I shall have a bowl of milk and some bread and butter, and for supper bread and cheese, with a salad."

In answer to my suggestion that one might probably tire of plum-cake and water for dinner, he reminded me that the *carte* of most men, tied like himself to the City during the day, was almost as monotonously limited to the routine of "chop or steak." "Besides," he added, "there are endless varieties of vegetarian cookery for those who seek a relish. I am detailing, as you asked me, the regimen I myself have adopted. Vegetables, fruits, and farina afford quite as large a field as fish, flesh, and fowl."

He was loud in praise of oatmeal and beans. He pointed to the fact that whilst in England the men were ill-fed, and the horses in fine condition, the reverse was the case in Scotland, where the men were muscular and the cattle comparatively ill-conditioned; from which he inferred that we gave to our cattle that nutrition which the canny Scot wisely reserved for himself.

But still I was not satisfied. What, if I might make bold to ask, was the nature of my interlocutor's life; and did he never feel that vacuum which—British

like—I had got to think could only be filled with beefsteak and stout, or their equivalents?

His calling, he told me, besides chaining him for many hours each day to the office, took him into the most squalid parts of the East-end of London; and so it was he had found the cruel nature of the fallacy, that meat and beer were the staples of existence, forced in still more strongly on his conviction. "To secure such," he said, "these poor people sacrifice all the decencies of life. They cannot buy best joints. They feed on liver, tripe, and such offal, where, if at all, disease is sure to lurk.

"I really began to see what a powerful agent of civilization a sensible diet-table might be made." Saying thus, he pointed out triumphantly to a tabular form hanging in his office, and especially drew my attention to the name of the non-vegetarian chemist who subscribed it:—

"*Composition of Food.*

Weight.	THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES OF DIET:	CONTAIN:		SUPPLY TO BODY:		
		Solid Matter.	Water.	Flesh forming Principle.	Heat forming Principle.	Ashes.
lb.		lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.	lb.
100	Turnips	11·0	89·0	1·0	9·0	1·0
,,	Red Beet Root ...	11·0	89·0	1·5	8·5	1·0
,,	Carrots	13·0	87·0	2·0	10·0	1·0
,,	Potatoes	28·0	72·0	2·0	25·0	1·0
,,	Butcher's Meat ...	36·6	63·0	21·5	14·3	·8
,,	Bread (stale)	76·0	24·0	10·7	64·3	1·0
,,	Peas.....	84·0	16·0	29·0	51·5	3·5
,,	Lentils.....	84·0	16·0.	33·0	48·0	3·0
,,	Barley-meal	84·5	15·5	14·0	68·5	2·0
,,	Wheat-meal	85·5	14·5	21·0	62·0	2·5
,,	Beans	86·0	14·0	31·0	51·5	3·5
,,	Sago	88·0	12·0	3·4	84·0	·6
,,	Maize-meal.....	90·0	10·0	11·0	77·0	2·0
,,	Oat-meal.....	91·0	9·0	12·0	77·0	2·0
,,	Rice.....	92·4	7·6	8·4	82·0	2·0

"Grain and other nutritious vegetables yield us, not only in starch, sugar, and gum, the carbon which protects our organs from the action of oxygen, and produces in the organism the heat which is essential to life, but also in the form of vegetable fibrine, albumen, and caseine, our blood, from which the other parts of our body are developed. These important products of vegetation are especially abundant in the seeds of the different kinds of grain, and of peas, beans, and lentils, and in the roots and juices of what are commonly called vegetables. They exist, however, in all plants, without exception, and in every part of plants, in larger or smaller quantity." Again:—"Vegetable fibrine and animal fibrine, vegetable albumen and animal albumen, hardly differ, even in form; if these principles be wanting in the food, the nutrition of the animal is arrested; and when they are present, the graminivorous animal obtains in its food the very same principles on the presence of which the nutrition of the carnivora entirely depends." The next statement is very important to be remembered. "Vegetables produce in their organism the blood of all animals, for the carnivora, in consuming the blood and flesh of the graminivora, consume, strictly speaking, only the vegetable principles which have served for the nutrition of the latter."—*Liebig.*

Another strong point which my voluble friend put forward was his comparative immunity from adulteration. He needed no analyst to examine his fruit, his

vegetables, his occasional egg, and filtered water. He even argued warmly against cooking fruit—though here I know the homœopathists, whom I had always considered the most consummate masters of diet, would join issue with him. "Nature gave them to us as they are, ready to eat; and what do we find? Edible in their original state, these fruits—such as the apple, cherry, or plum—are not palatable, when cooked, without sugar;" and sugar he seemed to regard as the very concentration of all adulterations. Tea and coffee he also patronized but slenderly, preferring the Paradisiacal spring water.

And how do we think this active gentleman amused himself when work was over, and he retired to the suburban residence of his nine vegetarian olive-branches? As an amateur carpenter and joiner. Vegetarianism, in one word, according to his representation, had kept him sound in wind and limb, as well as clear in head, for a quarter of a century. Barring the arrivals of the nine, and an accident or two, his doctor's bill had not been 10*l.* during all that period. Remembering what my butcher, brewer, wine merchant, and doctor had derived from me during a far shorter period, it was all I could do to prevent myself from rushing into a greengrocer's, purchasing an enormous salad, and, bearing it triumphantly home, resolving my little household into graminivora on the spot. But, like Wordsworth's pertinacious querist in the pretty poem "We are Seven,"

I ventured on one more question, as I stood hat in hand to depart. Did he not find it inconvenient in social life, and especially when travelling? There was no vegetarian restaurant even in London, I believed, or I should have immediately adjourned to it. There was none, he said; but there was no difficulty, he submitted, in culling from the *carte*, especially of foreign restaurants in town, such dishes as suited him. In travelling, the landlords of rural hostelries generally looked on him as a "foreigner," and were tolerant of his little weaknesses. So, in social life, he was saluted by his intimate friends with the remark, "In the name of the Prophet, figs!" from that fruit forming so large a portion of his diet. At public dinners he could pick his way among the various dishes, affecting chiefly the leguminous ones; and, if necessary, he could, being free from all vows, partake of a slice of meat or a glass of wine, though certain —perchance like some of his fellow-guests—to feel the retributive "morning after."

Such was my interview with a vegetarian. He forwarded me afterwards a number of pamphlets on the subject, which I proceed to analyse. The long-defunct "Vegetarian Messenger," one of those volumes, represents a period in the history of the system when it appeared likely to take firmer hold of popular esteem than afterwards proved to be the case. It is full of recipes for savoury vegetarian dishes, the mere reading of which makes one's mouth water; and

British housewives would do well to consult its pages, if only to provide a stopgap for meat whilst famine prices rule.

Take for instance the following recipes, which certainly, in these days of deep culinary study, may well alternate with, if they do not supplant, the ordinary courses of fish, flesh, and fowl:—

"TWELVE VEGETARIAN RECIPES.

"1. *Breadcrumb Omelet.*—One pint of breadcrumbs, a large handful of chopped parsley, with a large slice of onion minced fine, and a teaspoonful of dried marjoram. Beat up two eggs, add a teaspoonful of milk, some nutmeg, pepper, and salt, and a piece of butter the size of an egg. Mix altogether, and bake in a slow oven till of a light brown colour. Turn out of dish and send to table immediately.

"2. *Yorkshire Pudding.*—Flavour your batter with pot marjoram, lemon thyme, and sweet balm powdered, a little chopped parsley, and an onion minced fine. Bake in moderate oven; serve hot with gravy.

"3. *Macaroni Pudding.*—Two ounces of macaroni; boil till tender, drain the water from it, and add half a pint of new milk, and half an ounce of parsley, chopped fine. A teaspoonful of lemon thyme powdered, some lemon peel, pepper, and salt, and dash of nutmeg. Put it in a well buttered dish, and bake twenty minutes. If wanted richer, beat up an egg in the milk.

"4. *Buttered Onions.*—Take enough (rather small) onions to make a dish; let them all be of like size; peel them, and throw them into a stew-pan of boiling water with some salt. Boil for five minutes, drain them, put them into a saucepan with a good thick piece of butter, a sprinkling of nutmeg, pepper, and salt; toss them about over a clear fire until they begin to brown; add a tablespoonful of mushroom ketchup, and a dessert-spoonful of sage and marjoram and parsley. Do them gently for a quarter of an hour, and serve upon toast moistened in lemon juice.

"5. *Mushroom Pudding.*—One pint of mushrooms, half a pound of breadcrumbs, and two ounces of butter. Put the butter in the breadcrumbs, adding pepper and salt, and as much water as will moisten the bread; add the mushrooms, cut in pieces; line a basin with paste, put in the mixture, cover with paste, tie a cloth over, and boil an hour and a half. It is equally good baked.

"6. *Buttered Eggs or Rumbled Eggs.*—Break three eggs into a small stew-pan, put a tablespoonful of milk and an ounce of fresh butter, add a saltspoonful of salt and a little pepper. Set the stew-pan over a moderate fire, and stir the eggs with a spoon, being careful to keep every particle in motion until it is set. Have ready a crisp piece of toast, pour the eggs upon it, and serve immediately. [This mode of dressing eggs secures that the white and the yolk shall be perfectly mixed. The white, which is so

very nutritious, is insipid and unpalatable when the egg is simply boiled, fried, or poached.]

"7. *Potted Lentils or Haricots.*—Stew a teacupful of lentils in water, with a morsel of butter and some mushroom powder. Beat up to a smooth paste. When cold, add an equal quantity of fine brown breadcrumbs, with seasoning of salt, mace and cayenne, and the size of a walnut of old cheese. Beat all together with two ounces of butter. Press firmly into pots. (Haricot beans may be used instead of lentils.) If it is to be kept long, hot butter must be poured on the top.

"8. *Baked Potatoes with Sage and Onion.*—Peel as many potatoes as you require; put them in a pie-dish, and a good-sized onion, with half a teaspoonful of dried sage, two ounces of butter, and enough water to cover the bottom of the dish. Season with salt and pepper.

"9. *Barley Soup.*—Soak four tablespoonfuls of Scotch barley in cold water for an hour. Put it in stew-pan with about a pint of cold water. Set it on a moderate fire; let it stew gently, and add three good-sized onions, two small turnips, a carrot, and a head of celery. Season to taste with salt and pepper. When quite soft, add a tablespoonful of mushroom ketchup.

"10. *Groat Pudding.*—Pick and wash a half pint of groats, and put them in a dish with a pint of water, a large onion chopped small, a little sage or marjoram,

a good lump of butter, pepper and salt. The groats may be steeped thus for some hours before baking. Apples may be added, or substituted, for the onions and herbs. If substituted, use sugar instead of the seasoning. Bake in a moderate oven till the groats are tender.

"11. *Savoury Pie.*—Pare several potatoes and two or three onions. Slice them, if large. Place these in a buttered pie-dish, in layers, with a little well steeped tapioca, pepper, salt, and powdered sage upon each, also mushroom powder, or fresh mushrooms if liked. Slices of cold bread omelet, or a few Brussels sprouts, may be inserted. Cover with a plain crust; one made of ordinary bread dough, with a very little butter, is preferable to anything heavy. Keep the bottom of the pie supplied with hot water while baking, or it will be without gravy.

"12. *Vegetarian Gravy.*—This may be flavoured either with mushroom powder or browned onion, and coloured with a little chicory, the basis being made as plain melted butter, with less flour or thickening, and seasoned with pepper, salt, and mace, if approved."

Professor Francis William Newman, whose theological proclivities have already claimed our notice, is a tower of strength to the Vegetarians, and in dealing with the current literature of the subject I give the preference to his lectures. I only regret that I cannot find space to print in full the Address

of 1872; but I select those passages which have a present interest, on account of their economical bearing, and also those which bring the subject into connexion with the known theological opinions of our author:—

"When the name and practice of Vegetarianism is brought casually before an English man or woman, it is very generally regarded as fanciful and ridiculous. I will not deny that while I knew it myself only from a distance, I thought it a strange, perhaps even a silly fancy; hence I cannot be surprised that others, equally uninformed as I then was, so regard it. I have often heard the rather scornful question, made in a peculiarly decisive tone: 'What *is* the use of it?' Of course the questioner implies the true and obvious answer to be, 'Absolutely none whatever.' Now, by way of reply, I will take the liberty of asking some questions in return. Did you ever hear of such a thing as Cattle Murrain? Did you ever hear of Diseased Meat in the Market? or of Contagious Disease spreading among foul eaters? or are you at all aware of butchers' meat becoming very dear? inconveniently dear for most, ruinously dear to hand-workers? Well, if these matters are familiarly known to you, I have one more question—Did you ever reflect on the *causes* of these things? for you can hardly believe that they come without a cause. It is possible that many present have never inquired into the causes, and my first attempt will be to

aid in the research, by recalling many obvious and notorious facts.

"The easiest question to answer is—What is the cause of the high price of butchers' meat? The reply is—An enormous increase of demand. The whole series of events is in the easy memory of those who are no longer young, yet may need to be shortly recapitulated to the new generation. I will first remark, that any great murrain in cattle (however caused), would naturally be followed by an increased price of meat. I do not overlook this, when I refer to the increase of demand as the main and steady cause of the rise in price. In fact, it was distinctly predicted by far-seeing economists in 1846 and the previous years, during the contest for the abolition of the old Corn Laws. The late General Perronet Thompson illustrated popularly his economic prediction, by saying: 'When, through the cheapening of bread, a man finds he has an unexpected sixpence in his pocket, he is very apt to want a mutton-chop.' On this ground he foretold that the abolition of the Corn Laws would make the artisans eat, not more bread, but more butchers' meat, and that the price of such meat would rise. Accordingly, he and Colonel Torrens prophesied that the farmers would become enriched by the sale of agricultural *luxuries*, in proportion as the one agricultural *necessary* (bread) became cheaper: for most persons expected that bread would permanently be reduced in price. In

fact, it has only been saved from great fluctuations, and its indefinite rise hindered. Higher wages and steadier work, rather than cheaper bread, have made our artisans able to demand flesh meat; and this increased demand was a marked fact already in 1848. Importation of foreign cattle for immediate consumption has been on the increase thenceforward. With the development of the railway system the prices have become more equalized, not by a fall in the towns, but by a rise in the more secluded rural districts. At length it became worth while to turn Irish arable land into grazing, for the production of more cattle. This must be the tendency everywhere, at a certain point of price, if butchers' meat go up, or bread go down; for land is husbanded, not for the cultivator's mouth, but for his purse (or what here amounts to the same, for the landlord's purse); hence, unless our present career be checked, we have a very dreary prospect before us. . . . .

"It may be replied, that the working classes are wilful and besotted, and will of course grasp at every luxury in their power. See, it will be said, how recklessly they spend their money on beer or gin, or if not on drink, then on tobacco-smoking, or perhaps on both. There are many exceptions. Nevertheless, I concede, they are a minority. I admit and press, that so long as all who are rich enough to get an article, insist on getting it, the poorer will covet it, will count it a luxury, and will often ruin their finance

by eagerness for it. But what then? Why, then, this is precisely the reason why the richer should set them a different example. 'I will eat no meat while the world standeth,' said the great Paul, 'if it make my brother to offend.' If there is not enough sound flesh meat for all, and it be not necessary for our welfare, why should we, who are richer, rush in to clutch at it?

"But I turn to another side of the subject, hardly less important. Just alarm is widely spread concerning a fact too broad to be denied—the growth of our towns, and the disproportionate emptiness of our country. This is everywhere the symptom of progressive national decay. The Roman poet Horace saw it already before his eyes in Italy. Small freeholds had become rare. On the great estates were beautiful villas, splendid parks cultivated for elegance, not for service. The fruit-tree was 'evicted' (to use his phrase) by the barren tree. The towns were full, and the country empty. Grazing superseded agriculture; cattle took the place of robust freemen, and were tended by a sparse population of slaves. A Gaulish chieftain, soon after, in urging his countrymen to revolt against Rome, used the argument, 'Italy is poor in men;' and Pliny echoed it in the utterance, 'Broad estates have ruined Italy.' In modern Turkey we have the same deplorable phenomenon, from widely different causes—well filled towns and empty country. The historian Sismondi

attests that it characterized every land, which was in its turn ruined by the Roman empire. No impartial and well-informed person can look on Great Britain without discerning the same alarming phenomenon in contrasting our rural districts to our towns. The country places do not support their own births; the rustic population flock to the towns. Now, I am not about to say that this is directly caused by flesh eating; it undoubtedly depends on circumstances of landed tenure, which cannot here be treated. Nevertheless, the evils are aggravated by the demands of the wealthy towns for cattle and their products; this fact alone makes it worth a landlord's while to keep arable in pasture. If the towns renounced flesh eating, we should see in a single generation, even without improved land tenure, a tide of migration set the other way, from towns into the country. Rustic industry would be immensely developed. All motive for expatriation of our robustest youth would for a long time yet be removed, and the country might be enormously enriched, not in an upper stratum of great fortunes, but (if national morality kept pace with wealth) down to the bottom of the community. Our strength is proportioned to the number of our industrious and loyal citizens. The country would then bear a great increase of population without effort; for it is certain that ordinary arable land will produce easily four times as much human food as the

same land devoted to grazing. Of course there is land where the soil barely covers the rock—where a plough cannot be driven, or where mere steepness forbids—on which nevertheless grass can grow. No one wishes to get rid of all grazing land. But where the soil has moderate depth cultivation improves it; if there be but enough labourers. The area for which twenty men suffice to tend oxen grazing on it, might need the labour of a thousand (including rustic artisans) if it were duly laid out for crops. I do not forget or dissemble that a large part of cattle food, especially the winter supply, is provided by cultivation, as beans and oats for horses, turnips and other roots for sheep and oxen. Still, the movement towards Vegetarianism would be a movement for native cultivation and rustic industry. . . . .

"But it may occur to you that I have said nothing of fish. It is true that the economic objections to butchers' meat do not apply against fish from the sea; nor is the moral objection to killing them equal to that against killing birds. Fish do not displace crops on the soil, and are a real addition to the food of a nation. But except on the sea-coast, fish on the average is dearer than mutton; I believe I may say, by far dearer; and has less nourishment, pound for pound. Flabby fish, which is very unnutritious, and will not bear transport, is not coveted, and may remain cheap. But the really solid kinds are not

cheap anywhere, I believe:* and are in general enormously dear, as turbot and salmon. Salmon, I know, recently in Clifton, where I live, was selling at 3*s.* 6*d.* a pound, and 2*s.* 6*d.* is a common price. I do not know that a pound of salmon gives more nourishment than a pound of mutton, even to those who are able to digest it; hence until the price of fish is enormously reduced, it is difficult to say much in their favour from the economic side, except so far as they are used as condiment, like anchovy, herring, sardines, or even sprats. Vegetarians being desirous of attesting that their strength is not supported on fish, any more than on beasts and fowls, think it right to abstain even from these condiments; but it is not likely that they will devote any large portion of their zeal to dissuade people from them. Rather they will take for granted that those who on the whole see reasons for abstinence from flesh, will think it wiser, in the present state of opinion, when the example of every abstainer tells for something, to aim at that completeness in a broad principle which all alike are sure to understand.

"Perhaps some of you are disappointed, that I have not entered into any proofs that farinaceous food suffices for strength and health. Indeed doctrine so opposite is sedulously preached by men who ought

* Perhaps I ought to except *Skate.* I have always wondered that so solid and nourishing a fish, so palatable when thoroughly dressed, is so cheap in the London market. The rich seem to despise it for its cheapness.

to know, that I think it rather better to refer you to those who can speak with authority on this question; else I must perhaps have devoted the entire lecture to it. But as our Society has printed a four page tract of testimonies from celebrated physiologists—few of them Vegetarians—who assert that farinaceous food and pulse, suffice abundantly for strength, and tend eminently to health and long life—I have requested a supply of these to be provided at hand, so that all of you may be able to read the testimonies at leisure.

"I therefore content myself with saying, that the inhabitants of county Kerry and county Cork are by impartial testimony singularly beautiful and strong, though nourished on potatoes with, at most, buttermilk; that the Scotch, living on oatmeal, are on the whole stronger and healthier than the English; that the porters and boatmen of Turkey equal the strongest navvies of the English railways; and that I am persuaded, a general survey of the broad facts of the human race show it to be a delusion, that flesh meat ever gives to men who labour with body or mind any advantage whatever.

"In conclusion, I beg to state the pleasure with which I have delivered this lecture within a Friends' Institute. The Friends from their origin have emphatically taken as their motto—Be not conformed to this world. Accordingly they have espoused the most unpopular causes for the sake of truth and

justice, defying dominant opinion, prevalent practices, fashions, and power. They have been foremost against that greatest of iniquities which is now dying out, Chattel Slavery. They have championed the rights of Woman, and nearly every form of mercy. I will not call them our forlorn hope, but in apparently the most hopeless assaults on evil they have been leaders. No foreign victims of evil so call on them now as the most wretched of our own population, who cannot indeed be raised by any one form of action, but only by many combined. Yet I boldly assert, that it is simply impossible to lift them out of their misery and rottenness, unless they are trained to avoid ensnaring drink and expensive eating. Though I cannot claim a first rank for Vegetarianism in elevating the people, yet it is only secondary to abstinence from alcoholic liquors. It directly promotes that gentleness of heart which abhors bloodshed, and indirectly that hatred of war for which the Friends have always been eminent."

But, advanced as Professor Newman may be, it is naturally to America that we turn for the most progressive ideas on this or any other subject; and I cannot refrain from quoting a few passages from Dr. Traill's address, delivered at the eleventh annual meeting of the Vegetarian Society, noting especially those which refer to the moral aspect of the matter:—

"As a reform, Vegetarianism may be said to underlie many other reforms which have made vastly more noise in the world, the temperance cause particularly. Without the co-operation of this, they can never achieve but partial and temporary success. Talk about politics, commerce, navies, armies, annexations, and secessions, unions, and constitutions! What are all these compared with the institution of victuals and drink? . . . .

"Philanthropists, statesmen, politicians, are always busy discussing multitudinous, and in some respects very conflicting schemes of reform, improvement, and progress; and they keep the nation perpetually agitated about banks and tariffs, parties, platforms, squatter sovereignties, extensions, non-interventions, fusions, and confusions, each of which may, perhaps, be of some importance to somebody, but altogether sink into insignificance, as affecting the permanent prosperity of our country, or the weal and woe of the human race, when compared with this matter of eating and drinking. Douglas, Breckenridge, Bell, Lincoln, are all important personages no doubt, and each very useful in his way; but none of these orators have thus far, during the pendency of the presidential campaign, broached any subject so vitally important to the voters as that of beef *versus* bread, hog *v.* hominy, mutton *v.* squash, oysters *v.* peaches, chickens *v.* whortle-berries. 'A sound mind in a sound body'

is the best possible platform, not only for all political, but for all human purposes.

"Food supplies the elements of our tissues. We are literally made of what we eat. Our mental manifestations are dependent on the quality of our bodily structures. According to our dietary will be the condition of the 'house we live in'—this bodily tenement of the immortal spirit, which we are commanded by its Author to keep pure, holy, and undefiled.

"I know it is customary with some clergymen, while magnifying the spiritual laws of the Supreme Being, wholly to ignore his physical laws. But I cannot see why one law of the Deity should not be as dear to Him as another. All laws in the universe are laws of nature; and nature's laws are God's laws; and I cannot understand why He should look with any less complacency on the transgression of a law which we call *physical*, because it relates to the body, than He does on the violation of a law which we term *moral*, because it relates to the soul. Certain it is that penalty and punishment equally follow the infraction of any law of the universe.

"And history, which is said to be 'philosophy teaching by example,' informs us that all nations of the earth have gone up or down, have risen or fallen, as they ate and drank.

"Turkey, not long since a powerful nation, is now dying of narcotic poisons. The swarming millions of China are becoming rapidly demoralized and deterio-

rated with opium. And who so blind that he cannot see that the four yet great and powerful nations of the earth — England, France, Russia, and the United States—are taking a serpent to their bosoms, yea, many serpents, which are bound ere long to have their best heart's blood, unless they in some way, and that speedily, rid themselves of them? It is enough to name that triune demon — alcohol, opium, and tobacco. These physiological fiends are just as sure to sink all these mighty empires to barbarism, sooner or later, provided the people generally persist in their use, as effect is sure to follow cause; so surely as there is law in the universe; so surely as God reigns. . . . .

"Well, what has all this to do with Vegetarianism? Much, very much! I look upon dietetic reform as one of the essential pre-requisites of any general and successful temperance or anti-tobacco reform. The demand for liquor and tobacco is founded in perverted appetences, and so long as these morbid appetites are kept up by gross food, so long will these pernicious habits do their work of destruction. . . . .

"And now, what is the basis of our Vegetarian creed? The arguments *pro* and *con* may be viewed from various stand-points.

"Some persons are Bible Vegetarians. They think that this book inculcates this doctrine.

"Some are scientific Vegetarians. They believe that nature teaches it.

"Some are Vegetarians from benevolence. They regard it as cruel to kill animals for food. They can see no 'peace on earth and good-will to man' while cruelty, even to animals, prevails.

"Some are æsthetic Vegetarians. They see the sublime and the beautiful in human nature, only in circumstances which dispense with slaughter-houses, fowl-pens, and piggeries.

"Others are economical Vegetarians. They perceive a vast saving in soil and territory, and in the wear and tear of human machinery, and an immense diminution of the most degrading toil and drudgery, in abstinence from animal food.

"Others, still, are Vegetarians from experience. They have in some way learned that others have subsisted very well, and perhaps improved, on the adoption of a vegetable diet, and so they try it as an experiment, sometimes just to see if it will agree with their constitutions. Unfortunately, too many of these, not being well-grounded in the theory, are very apt, in some moment of uncomfortable experience, to murmur, as did the children of Israel for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and like the children of Israel, they are often *cursed* with the permission to eat again what their souls lust after.

"And yet others are Vegetarians from necessity. This is altogether the most numerous class. They are mostly invalids, and are quite numerous at some of the Water-cures, which, by the way, are quite as much

Diet-Cures as Water-Cures. They cannot recover health, and many of them cannot even live much longer, without adopting a rigidly simple and strictly Vegetarian diet. Although these persons always get more or less benefit to themselves, they do not very well commend our system to the public. Being generally the worst class of invalids—many of them possessing but the mere relics of ruined constitutions—they do not serve our system very well as advertisements. If they speak ever so well of it, and declare that it has prolonged their lives, and even rescued them from death, those who see and hear them are very apt to regard them as partially demented, and look upon them as frightful examples of the dangerous effects of Vegetarianism.

"But there is one argument yet to be named. We all have our 'isms,' our hobbies. Mine is the *truth* argument. *Vegetarianism is true.* This is why I adopt it; and this I consider reason enough. . . . .

"No animal organization can create or form food of any kind. All that the animal can do is to use or appropriate what nutrient material the vegetable kingdom has provided. The vegetable kingdom is intermediate between the mineral and the animal kingdoms. The vegetable kingdom, of the elements of the inorganic world, compounds or creates alimentary principles, as albumen, casein, fibrin, gum, sugar, starch, &c. These alimentary principles are not properly food in their separate states: they are merely the proximate elements

of food. Food, or aliment proper, is the compound of these alimentary principles, as in the potato, the apple, the grain, &c. And all of these proximate aliments of food (alimentary principles) are produced in the vegetable kingdom, and in the processes of formation, growth, development; in the *green* or growing state.

"Hence the error of those who would medicate diseases by plying the system with *inorganic* or *chemical elements*, or animal excretions, to nourish the tissues, as the preparations of iron, phosphates, or hypophosphites of lime, magnesia and soda, cod-liver oil, and other specimens of 'blood-food,' as they are called. The thing cannot be done. Nature abhors the plan. The animal organism will not receive and cannot assimilate inorganic elements or compounds, nor effete matters of any kind. They must first be reduced to their primary elements, and then compounded by the vegetable kingdom. Medicating the human system by means of fertilizers, as we *may* manure the earth for vegetables, is a sad mistake on the part of medical men—a mistake which is sending the human family, old, young, and middle-aged, in great and constant droves, to premature graves, and sadly damaging those constitutions which are not wholly destroyed by this practice.

"Animals may, indeed, feed on other animals; and human beings may feed on other human beings, or on animals. But food, once used, is more or less

changed, vitiated. And all of the flesh, and blood, and fat of animals contains more or less of the effete or waste matters, together with any morbid secretions, diseased products, or accidental poisons or impurities which may happen to be present. Hence, as the animal furnishes nothing that it does not derive from the vegetable, the logical deduction is irresistible, that if we would have the best and the purest food, we must take it *directly* from the vegetable kingdom, and not *indirectly* through an animal organism. . . . .

"People raise the anatomical objection, and this is pretty much all resolved into the teeth argument. And what about the teeth?

"Why, we are solemnly assured that man has *carnivorous teeth*, and, therefore, consequently, he is bound in some sort to 'play the dog.' It is not pretended that there is anything inhuman in or about his face otherwise. There is nothing bestial in his form or features. His hands seem better fitted to pluck the luscious fruit and gather the waving grain, than to rend and tear the quivering flesh. 'He walks erect, with face upturned to heaven,' instead of prowling on all fours, like a predaceous brute in search of his feast of blood. He does not crawl along the ground like a reptile hunting a frog for his dinner, nor does he skulk in sly corners and dark places, like the hideous hyena, to pounce on some weaker creature, and drink his fill of gore. And were it not for those *carnivorous teeth* we read so much about in medical books, we should,

perhaps, never suspect him of any murderous disposition at meal-times.

"But there they are—the carnivorous teeth—in the books, I mean. If we undertake to argue with a medical man, we are summarily snubbed off with the statement that man has teeth like a hog or a dog—and, *ergo*, he should eat like a pig or a puppy. I can never mention Vegetarianism to a flesh-eating medical gentleman, who does not introduce the teeth argument as the conclusion of the whole matter, as he asks triumphantly, 'What were carnivorous teeth put into our jaws for if not to eat flesh?'

"I have a short answer. *They were never put there at all.* If they really exist in particular cases, it must be by some accident. They were no part of the original constitution of humanity. And in truth they have no existence at all, except in the imagination of medical men, in medical books and journals, in the public newspapers, and in the jaws of carnivorous animals.

"I take the ground that man should not have animal teeth, because he is not an animal. He is endowed with mental powers which relate him to a future state, and to an immortality of existence, and which impel him to improve his condition from generation to generation—viz., hope, ideality, conscientiousness, spirituality, &c. No animal possesses the least trace of any of these phrenological organs. Hence man is not 'a higher animal,' but a *human being.*

"And now I propose to put this matter of the teeth to the proof. Hearing may be believing, but seeing is the naked truth. I ask medical men to *show their teeth;* to extend their jaws and let their teeth be seen. Let us have the light to shine in upon this dark and perplexing question. I appeal from their statements to their faces; from their books and schools to their own anatomy.

"Is there a person here who believes that, in the anatomy of his teeth, he is only *part human?*—that he is a compromise of human and brute? Let him come forward and open his mouth, not to asseverate his carnivorousness, but to let us see, with our own eyes, what manner of creature he really is. Let us see if he is not created *wholly* in the image of God, who lives eternally, and not in any respect in the image of the beast that perishes.

"I think, if we make a careful examination, we shall readily discover that he is, *toothatically* considered, neither predaceous nor bestial; that he is dietetically, neither swinish nor *tigerocious;* neither *dogmatical* nor *categorial;* nor is he exactly graminivorous, like the cattle; he is not even *sheepish;* but simply, wholly, and exclusively *human.*

"True, there are some resemblances between the teeth of men, women, and children, and the teeth of cats, dogs, lions, tigers, hogs, horses, sheep, cattle, crocodiles, and megalosauruses, (*sic.*) But there are differences, too. And the differences are just as sig-

nificant as are the resemblances. There is a resemblance between a man's face and the countenance of a cod-fish. There is also a striking difference. There is some resemblance between a man's features—especially if he does not shave—and the features of a bear. There is some resemblance between a woman's hair and a peacock's feathers; between a man's finger-nails and a vulture's talons; between his eye-teeth and a serpent's fangs. But, luckily for us, they are not the same, not precisely alike. Man resembles, more or less, every animal in existence. He differs, too, more or less, from all animals.

"There is one class of scholars who are competent, and qualified by their studies, to give an opinion on the question of the natural dietetic character of man. I mean naturalists who have studied comparative anatomy with especial reference to this question. And it gives me pleasure to inform medical gentlemen that all of them, without a single exception, with the great Cuvier at their head, have testified that the anatomical conformation of the human being, teeth included, is strictly *frugivorous*. . . . .

"And now, in conclusion, I object to animal food because everything about it — the breeding, the butchering, the cooking, and the eating—is sensualizing and depraving. It gives a morbid, unbalanced, and, in some respects, a precocious development. It gives preponderance to the lower propensities at the expense of the moral and intellectual nature. It

cultivates, in a thousand ways, the spirit of cruelty and selfishness. It engenders strife in society, and wars among the nations.

Just as the twig is bent, the tree's inclined.

"It distorts the development of childhood and perverts the instincts of youth. It leads directly to liquor-drinking and tobacco-using. It interferes with the law of harmonious development. Every structure, every organ, every faculty, and every power should have its equal, its normal, its proportionate development. All are good in themselves. Rightly educated and properly directed, all conduce to the perfect being. But when we so train and develop the organism as to place the spiritual nature under the dominion of morbid propensities and perverted instincts, the whole being becomes a *lusus naturæ* and a moral monstrosity, and we may well build prisons and penitentiaries, for they will be needed; and we may well organize temperance, and peace, and moral reform, and female guardian societies, for all will have enough to do."

After these tremendous sentences it is difficult to imagine any of us sitting down coolly and complacently to our accustomed chop, or calmly taking a slice from the family joint. The only wonder, indeed, is not that we are so bad as we are nowadays, but that we are not a great deal worse. My Vegetarian friend was, as I have conceded, a very fair average

specimen of humanity; and I am, I believe, rather celebrated among my friends and acquaintances for my modest demeanour and imperfect appreciation of my own merits; but I am not sure that I felt so immeasurably that gentleman's inferior as I perhaps ought to have done. I suppose the truth is that, just as some of us are better than our creeds, so some are worse; or else really these vegetarian people being so purged and purified of all the ills, physical, intellectual, and moral which flesh is heir to, would be uncongenial people to live with, until they shall have levelled the rest of us up to their own lofty ideal.

WEST-END SECULARISM.

By what appears to me a manifest defect of arrangement, nearly all the secular "events" in London seem to "come off" at the same time—namely, on Sunday evening. Not only does this fritter away the strength of the persuasion by extending the force along the whole line instead of massing it on a single point, but—what is of more immediate consequence to me—it renders the examination of the different Secularist bodies a work of time, or would do so, had I not, from lengthened experience as a newspaper "Special," learned the art of being in several places at the same time. "How it's done" is my secret, which I may perhaps unbosom some day, like Dr. Lynn the conjuror.

To this rule there are, of course, exceptions, but scarcely more than enough to prove it. Among these are the meetings in Tarlington Hall, Church Street, Paddington, which take place on a Thursday evening, and which I remembered to have seen claiming in the *National Reformer* to represent the secularism of the West-end of London. It has long been a source of surprise to me that Free-thought should seem to eschew the higher strata of society, and work at the

East-end of London, and down by-streets. I fail to see the necessary antagonism between Free-thought and "respectability" which some of the professors of the former, it appears to me, make a mistake (from their point of view) in conceding. There are surely examples, which it would be invidious to specify, of very advanced thought in high places which need not make a West-end crusade quite a forlorn hope. I fancied I had discovered the basis of operations for such crusade in Tarlington Hall, and to Tarlington Hall I went.

I was not so far misled by the palatial name of the place as to be very much staggered when I found that Tarlington Hall stood in the rear of a boot shop near the well-known public-house called the Wheatsheaf, where the Paddington omnibuses change horses, or that you had to go almost through the bootmaker's emporium to get to it; but I *was* shocked when, on turning the handle of the only door I could see, I found myself in that respectable tradesman's back parlour. He soon reassured me, however, by emerging as I closed the door, and informing me that in consequence of the weather (it was raining hard) there would be no lecture that evening, but the same subject, that namely of "Jonah," would be taken on the following Thursday. I was disappointed, I own, for I had come a long way through soaking rain to hear about Jonah; yet I masked my disappointment with a mild joke, saying that I fancied a little rain

more or less would not have mattered much to that particular prophet; but the man did not appear to appreciate the mild innocent pleasantry, and retreated to the back parlour whose privacy I had invaded. I could not help realizing the conviction, however, that the number of West-end Secularists must be very small, when a lecture could be thus summarily put off in consequence of a drop of rain; and I must confess I saw no other disappointed individual leaving the boot shop except myself.

I had a second experience of an equally infructuous character at the only other West-end focus of Secularism I could find out. This, I may mention, was situated in the very parish where I formerly held my curacy—St. George's, Campden Hill, Kensington—and Uxbridge Street, where the "Progressive Club" stands, was in my own district; but, of course, I never dared go near Progressive Clubs in those days. It was bad enough to write about Unorthodox London—most of the old ladies thought *that* wrong; I should have been a blacker sheep than ever had I entered anything so heterodox as a Progressive Club then.

I need not have endangered my character on this particular evening either; for the meeting, although advertised in my *vade mecum*, the *National Reformer*, was strictly a business one, consisting of contributions for the sufferers from the Farmers' Lock-out, and the passing a vote of thanks to the Bishop of Manchester for the part he had taken in the agricul-

cultural question. Reference was also made to the forthcoming Hospital Saturday; but all was too ephemeral to find a place in these pages, or be elevated into a type of West-end Secularism. Uxbridge Street, however, is decidedly nattier and much more convivial than the other places I had visited. There was a newly-painted proscenium at one end, and tables were distributed round the room whereupon the members regaled themselves with beer in white jugs, and grog from their own "stores." Altogether Uxbridge Street seemed a very "clubbable" place indeed, and that was about all. The West-end of the metropolis still awaits its secular propaganda on anything like a large scale.

I had projected a second visit to Jonah on the following Thursday evening, but matter more attractive cropped up in another direction; and, besides, the wind turned to the east, and I doubted whether that might not be as deterrent to the Tarlington Hall lecturer and audience as a mild downfall of rain!

IRISHISM.

In default of any recognised comprehensive title to cover the various degrees of Hibernian opinion, from full-blown Fenianism down to mild Home Ruleism, I adopt the above, which I heard coined by a gentleman who was waxing warm on the subject at the Temple Discussion Forum, and which seems generic enough for all purposes. I have to confess that, except as far as descriptive matter goes, my information on the subject of Irishism in London is defective. For obvious reasons the patriots of Erin do not care to lay bare their plans to me or anybody—it is not to be expected. I wrote to the head Secretary of the Irish Home Rule Confederation of Great Britain in Manchester, and received from him a prompt and courteous reply, simply referring me to the branch Secretaries of the Confederation in London, whose names, he said, I should find in the *Irishman.*

I bought the *Irishman*—(my newsvendor, by the way, must think me remarkably eclectic in my reading just at present)—and when I did not find what I wanted there, I of course at once understood that the reference was only a delicate way of declining to be "done." I am not so unreasonable as to be surprised at this. In a nascent political scheme, where success

depends on things being kept "snug," I can understand the pertinacious newspaper correspondent being the greatest possible bore. He has got into the habit of looking at everything in the light of an article in a paper or a chapter in a book, and an else successful scheme might easily be blown upon and rendered abortive by one of these ubiquitous gentlemen. I hope that is a confession which will be appreciated by my Hibernian friends.

But if I did not find the addresses of local Secretaries in the *Irishman*, I found what was almost more to my immediate purpose—namely, announcements of the arrangements for the Amnesty Meeting in Hyde Park, and coming festivities for St. Patrick's Day. The first was as follows :—

"Fellow-Countrymen in London.—We trust you will attend in thousands on Sunday in Trafalgar Square, and show to the world that we wish those prisoners to be set free. We have not had much time to organize, but we hope this will be made up by your energy. If there is no procession to start from your neighbourhood, come straight to the Square and fall in with the main body. On this day we are all Irish, without the least shade of political strife. Let every man bring as many friends as he can to swell the ranks. Do not stand on the footways or in little groups, but fall into line at once. Let every one who reads this report go to work at once among his friends, for

it is a noble duty in a holy cause. Friends, we trust you will pardon us if this report is not so well drawn up as it ought to be, as we have but very little time. The meeting time in Trafalgar Square is half-past two. Do not stand particular about dining at the usual time if it would cause you to be too late. We request you will join any procession to the Square from your own district. But come whether you have processions or not. There will be several bands in the demonstration. The Irish National Brass Band on Clerkenwell Green, and the St. George's Temperance Brass Band have volunteered their services gratis (all honour to them!). We ask our countrywomen in London to aid us by their presence in the procession. We trust as many as possible will wear green rosettes, scarfs, or ribbons, and we most emphatically request men not to smoke in the ranks. Marshals will be appointed to direct the procession on the line of march. Last year's demonstration was so grand and so well conducted that everybody is acquainted with the order of march and the route to be taken. The different district processions will start from the same meeting-places that they did last year, and at the same time. Do not fail to be in Trafalgar Square, and march to Hyde Park, in the interest of the God-like virtue of setting the captives free.—We are, fellow-countrymen, yours truly—

"THE COMMITTEE OF DELEGATES APPOINTED TO CARRY OUT THE PROCEEDINGS."

The second as follows :—

"To the Nationalists of London.—A ball and concert will take place at Grafton Hall, Grafton Street, Soho, on Tuesday, March, 17, 1874. An efficient band will be in attendance. There will also be a Grand Panorama of the principal Irish Patriots and leading political events from 1848 down to the present time. *Chairman,* Mr. J. Ryan; *Master of Ceremonies,* Mr. J. Keane; *Secretary,* T. Dunne; *Treasurer,* P. Deering. Concert to commence at seven. Dancing at 9.30. Admission, sixpence; money taken at the door. The proceeds of the entertainment will be devoted to a National purpose."

Though having no connexion with Ireland, and owning no particular sympathy with the Fenian prisoners beyond that commiseration which all must feel with possibly well-meaning men suffering for their offences, I resolved to "demonstrate" on the Sunday like a real patriot. I took my station under the Reformers' Tree in the Park, and read *The Irishman* and the *Flag of Ireland*—two papers in which I found some sweetly loyal sentiments touching the Imperial Government in general, and the Ashantee War in particular. I wonder whether King Koffee takes in those two newspapers. He would be surprised to find his cause so warmly espoused against the British.

It was a balmy spring afternoon, and there was

already a good sprinkling of people in the Park when I got there. I only saw one patriot, and he wore a green riband with a gold harp embroidered on it, carried a sort of Field Marshal's baton in his hand, and had an artificial leg. Itinerant preachers were improving the occasion, and gathering large congregations from the enforced idlers; while the few police who were present occupied themselves in expelling the vendors of oranges from the Park. The way that an active and intelligent officer hustled a feeble old woman beyond the railings was edifying to see; but she was soon back again when the procession hove in sight.

We heard the sound of a patriot punishing a big drum in the distance, and presently saw what looked like the top of a bright green four-post bedstead struggling among the trees. This was the leading banner of the Emerald Isle; and really the procession was an imposing one in quantity, if not in quality. Men of all grades were there, each wearing his green badge or bit of shamrock, baskets of the latter being sold along the line of procession. The brass bands played excruciatingly, as usual. "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning" and the "Tramp Chorus" were the prevailing melodies; and the effect of the two, played by bands in close proximity, and a few fifes and drums coming in with another air, was exhilarating in the extreme. I fancy the computation of ten thousand people was quite within bounds. There

were some score of banners and flags, and about half as many bands, representing I know not what societies. A great many females marched in the last batch, and all seemed to enjoy their outing amazingly. When they got to the centre of the Park—where even those many thousands interfered with nobody—there was some speechifying, which a very small fraction could hear, and no doubt enjoyed. We outsiders could only see it all in dumb show.

It was certainly the most imposing demonstration, and best deserved the name of any of the attempts I had ever witnessed. The working men were there literally "in their thousands," and if they did not do much towards getting their fellow-countrymen out of Portland, still they had a day's outing; and I could not help thinking how much wiser we were in 1874 than in 1866, since we let the patriots exhaust their energies in blowing trombones, beating big drums, and making speeches which nobody could hear, instead of pulling down the Park railings. Nothing could possibly be more orderly and decorous than the behaviour of the patriots; and by five o'clock the talkee-talk was over, and the only signs of the late gathering were stray patriots with green decorations, drifting along Oxford Street eastwards, and cheering one's heart with their merry brogue as they discussed, with the best of good-humour, the accomplished "meeting."

The circumstances of this Hyde Park demonstra-

tion brought home to my consciousness the fact that St. Patrick's Day was at hand, or else I do not think I quite knew when the festival of his saintship occurred; but the question of Home Rule had been somewhat occupying my attention, and I thought I might gain something on the subject if I attended some of the London celebrations. I referred once more to my two newspapers—*The Irishman* and *The Flag of Ireland*—and immediately found, as Wright used to say in "My Precious Betsy," apropos of "The Penny Satirist," that those publications would henceforth be necessary to my existence. The open undisguised way they sympathized with King Koffee, for instance, against the hated Sassenach was, as I have said, edifying in the extreme; and altogether the sheets are suggestive as to the perfect freedom of the press in the British Islands.

Well, I found in these savoury journals that there would be no dearth of doings in London—from a concert in St. James's Hall, and a West-end gathering of the Archbishop and Catholic clergy, down to the panorama at Grafton Hall, St. Giles's, with speechifying and singing. It was, I suppose, an evidence of my heretical tendencies that I deliberately chose the last, and resolved—like a true Irishman—to begin St. Patrick's Day *at night.*

I had some difficulty to find Grafton Street, Soho; and could not go to it again even now without asking. There was scarcely anybody there when I arrived,

paid my sixpence, and passed into what had evidently once been a chapel; for the galleries, which I tried first, were still pewed, but downstairs the "flure" was covered with forms, and at the other end was a smartish little stage and proscenium, also locomotive. I first of all took my place in the gallery, but some lively Irish boys came in, and occupied themselves awhile in fighting, but ultimately took to spitting at one another from a distance, which was dangerous, so I evacuated and went downstairs.

I studiously wore a Tyrolese wide-awake, and garnished my button-hole with a sprig of shamrock, but I don't think the people liked the look of me. I feel sure they thought I was a policeman, though I cannot say that circumstance caused them to be at all particular in what was said or sung. The patriots did their singing and recitations themselves; but had a professional fiddle, cornet, and harp for the instrumental accompaniments. Occasionally these gentlemen tried to accompany the singers; but the melodies were of a character best left to themselves. "Biddy McCarthy" was most racily sung, and "The Rising of the Moon" and "My Brave Fenian Boy" were suggestive of something more than Home Rule. In fact, pikes were plainly mentioned, and whenever they were so the applause was vociferous. One fine young fellow in a stirring recitation, pined for a revival of Fontenoy, and several bright-eyed Irish girls trilled out

their untutored lays in a manner that showed how essentially music is an Irish gift.

The singing went on a very long time, and then came the panorama of Irish patriots. The gentleman who read the description had such a very fine brogue, and all the audience were so exceedingly anxious to bear their concurrent testimony to the excellence of the heroes at once, that I failed to catch many of the names. I can only express a hope, however, that none of those gentlemen at all resembled his portrait, for a more atrocious misrepresentation of the human physiognomy than that series of portraits it was never my misfortune to behold. Had they been at all like the originals (which I am quite sure they were not) Mr. Gladstone would simply have made the most fatal mistake in amnestying such ill-favoured personages, and no amount of demonstrations ought to induce Mr. Disraeli to repeat the error. But excitement, not art, was what our Irish friends wanted; and they got it to their heart's content out of that hideous magic-lantern.

It was eleven o'clock before that exhibition was over, and then the "flure" was cleared for dancing. I only waited for the opening quadrille, which was danced by the younger portions, the old people solacing themselves with solitary jigs in the corner, after which I went out; and I confess I think the door-keeper was easier in his mind when he found I did not take a check to return.

My next experience on the Irish Question was at the Temple Discussion Forum, Fleet Street, where I found the subject of debate set down one evening thus:—"The Meeting of the Home Rule League in the Dublin Rotunda. Ought there to be an Irish party acting independently of all other parties in the United Kingdom? To be opened by Mr. Vaughan Dayrell."

The opener, one of those remarkable specimens continually met with in such associations, was an eloquent scholarly man, sparkling with wit, copious in classical quotation, and with frequent allusion to his own Oxford career. He opened decidedly in the negative, and took as his exordium the fact that the day on which he spoke, April 10th, was the anniversary of the occasion when his right honourable friend eating his supper at the other end of the room (Mr. Finlan) led the Chartist forces to Wimbledon Common and then ran away. He himself was on duty that day as a Special Constable, and narrated the raciest stories of his experiences when "alone in the Strand, in the execution of his duty." He had frequent recourse to a half-pint pewter of stout—begging to be excused whilst he took his "champagne"—and kept his listeners thoroughly amused, if not much edified on the subject of Home Rule, for nearly an hour. He apologized for his incoherence. He had made notes; but some rival orator—probably his right honourable friend at the other end of the room—had

no doubt appropriated them. Mr. Finlan rose to reply, and, in measured terms, occupied some twenty minutes in personal recrimination, when he had to be called to time, and sat down angry, without having even approached the subject of debate. A herculean young man on the right of the chairman followed, and whilst bearing testimony to the individual excellence of the Irish, thought they were unreasonable in their demand for Home Rule. Mr. McSweeney rose on the Irish side, but he too got angry, being interrupted by the talking in the room, and could not be persuaded to continue. The consequence was that we only got two speeches at all *ad rem*—one from an elderly gentleman, who instanced the Hungarian Parliament at Pesth as a case of an *imperium in imperio* working successfully; and another from a young man, who, in a most lucid speech, pointed out that Ireland, with a population of 5,000,000 only, sent 105 members, or nearly one-sixth of the whole, to the House of Commons, and therefore could not reasonably complain of deficient representation.

Time and trains wait for no man—not even listeners to an Irish debate. I had to leave while this young gentleman was speaking, and without waiting for Mr. Dayrell's reply. And there my meagre experience of Hibernicism ends.

THE VICTORIA INSTITUTE ON ATHEISM AND PANTHEISM.

In portraying the various phases of heresy in the metropolis my method has nearly always been to visit some heterodox gathering, note its more salient points, and either myself report in essence, or more frequently transcribe at length the utterances of my representative man or woman, adding such quotations as I could collect from published books or pamphlets of recent date on the subject in hand. I know of no better plan to get a view which shall be at once compendious and, as far as may be, exhaustive of unfamiliar faiths and practices.

In the present instance I exactly reverse the process, and on the principle that, occasionally at all events, *fas est ab hoste doceri*, take my illustrations of Pantheism and Atheism principally from the mouth of an assailant. After pursuing my former method to this advanced portion of my work, and giving full liberty of speech—some may perhaps even deem it licence—to the representatives of heresy and heterodoxy, I thought it might be useful in the way of comment, as certainly a relief in the shape of variety, to change my tactics, for once at all events; while such

a variation might do something towards relieving the minds of my more sensitive readers by securing that, so far at least, the bane and antidote should go together.

The Victoria Institute, or Philosophical Society of Great Britain, which assumes as its motto the orthodox words, "Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam," meets at 8, Adelphi Terrace, Strand, and enumerates among its objects the following:—

"First.—To investigate fully and impartially the most important questions of Philosophy and Science, but more especially those that bear upon the great truths revealed in Holy Scripture, with the view of reconciling any apparent discrepancies between Christianity and Science.

"Second.—To associate men of Science and authors who have already been engaged in such investigations, and all others who may be interested in them, in order to strengthen their efforts by association, and by bringing together the results of such labours, after full discussion, in the printed Transactions of an Institution; to give greater force and influence to proofs and arguments which might be little known, or even disregarded, if put forward merely by individuals.

"Third.—To consider the mutual bearings of the various scientific conclusions arrived at in the several distinct branches into which Science is now divided, in order to get rid of contradictions and conflicting hypotheses, and thus promote the real advancement

of true Science; and to examine and discuss all supposed scientific results with reference to final causes, and the more comprehensive and fundamental principles of Philosophy proper, based upon faith in the existence of one Eternal God, who in His wisdom created all things very good.

"Fourth.—To publish Papers read before the Society in furtherance of the above objects, along with full reports of the discussions thereon, in the form of a Journal, or as the Transactions of the Institute.

"Fifth.—When subjects have been fully discussed, to make the results known by means of Lectures of a more popular kind, and to publish such Lectures.

"Sixth.—To publish English translations of important foreign works of real scientific and philosophical value, especially those bearing upon the relation between the Scriptures and Science; and to co-operate with other philosophical societies at home and abroad, which are now or may hereafter be formed, in the interest of Scriptural truth and of real Science, and generally in furtherance of the objects of this Society.

"Seventh.—To found a Library and Reading Rooms for the use of the Members of the Institute, combining the principal advantages of a Literary Club."

Moreover it appends to its conditions of membership the very significant and characteristic one:—

"It is to be understood that only such as are professedly Christians are entitled to become Members."

My own attention had been first called to the Institute by the receipt of an invitation to become a member, after preaching my sermon on Positivism which I quoted above. For various reasons I felt bound to decline, although, of course, flattered by the suggestion; and I was glad when I saw advertised for discussion a subject which so exactly came within the limits of my present work, as Prebendary Row's Paper on "The Principles of Modern Pantheistic and Atheistic Philosophy, as expressed in the last work of Strauss, Mill, &c."

It was an assembly of "potent, grave, and reverend signors," of which I found myself making one in the handsome room of the Institute, very different from the squalid halls and motley assemblages in which I had recently been "assisting." I no longer needed to wear the brigand hat or forswear the sober livery of black clothes and white tie; and it was quite a relief to feel once more *in propriâ personâ.* By a peculiar arrangement, we each of us as we entered had placed in our hands a proof copy of the paper to be read; which, whilst it was in some respects convenient, rather resembled a prologue to one of the Tragedies of Euripides, wherein you are told at the outset all the plot of the ensuing drama; and anything like surprise or possible sensationalism is thereby at once obviated. We did not come to the

Victoria Institute to be surprised, but to be edified; and the staid, decorous, and eminently orthodox tone of my surroundings had already begun to exert its influence on me when Prebendary Row took up his parable and read, while we took up our proof copies and followed him:—

"The following passage from the 'Autobiography of the late Mr. J. S. Mill,' he said, "demands the earnest attention of all those who believe that there is a personal God, who is the moral governor of the universe: 'The world would be astonished if it knew how great a proportion of its brighest ornaments—of those most distinguished even in popular estimation for wisdom and virtue—are complete sceptics on religion, many of them refraining from avowal, less from personal considerations, than from a conscientious, though now in my opinion most mistaken apprehension, lest by speaking out what may tend to weaken existing beliefs, and by consequence, as they suppose, existing restraints, they should do harm rather than good.'

"The first question which strikes the mind on reading this passage is, Is the assertion true, 'that a large proportion of the "world's brightest ornaments" are complete sceptics on religion'? If so, it is of the most serious import. Mr. Mill has probably exerted a greater influence in the higher regions of thought than any writer of the existing generation. No holder of his philosophy can any longer entertain a

doubt that certain portions of it are the philosophy of scepticism. The peculiar idiosyncrasies of mind which the Autobiography discloses, may have led Mr. Mill somewhat to over-estimate the sceptical tendencies of others. Yet the large number of writings which have been recently published of a sceptical tendency, is a sufficiently clear evidence that the principles of a pantheistic or atheistic philosophy are widely diffused among cultivated minds. Strauss, in his recent work, distinctly affirms that he is only acting as the spokesman of a wide range of pantheistic thought.

"I quite concur with Mr. Mill in opinion, that the time is come for speaking out plainly. In fact, unless morality is nothing better than expediency, there never has been a time when it has been right to profess adhesion to a system of thought which in secret we utterly despise. I fully concede that theologians no less than philosphers would do well to act on this opinion, and not to have an exoteric doctrine for the vulgar, and an esoteric one for themselves. But it is with the latter that I am now dealing. A sound philosophy requires that the too frequent example of the ancient philosopher, who acted the part of the high-priest of the god whose moral character he despised, and whose existence he disbelieved, should be utterly repudiated. What can be more degrading than the spectacle of an atheist Cæsar, dressed in the pontifical robes, uttering solemn vows to Jupiter in the Capitol? Persons capable of

acting such a part must have a supreme contempt for the vulgar herd of humanity; and are at one in principle with the priests whose conduct they denounce. It is satisfactory to be informed that in the opinion of Mr. J. S. Mill, his father's prudential principle of not avowing his opinions to the world 'was attended with *some* moral disadvantages.' The italics are ours; in place of 'some' we would read 'great.'

"Before entering on the consideration of some of the principles of pantheistic and atheistic philosophy, to which I propose drawing attention in the present paper, it will be necessary to state what Atheism, as held by men of culture, really means. The son's account of the character of his father's atheism will clearly define its nature. 'Finding,' says Mr. J. S. Mill, 'no halting-place in Theism, he yielded to the conviction, that concerning the origin of things nothing whatever can be known. This is the only correct statement of his opinion, for dogmatic Atheism he looked on as absurd, as most of those whom the world have considered atheists have always done.' Atheism, therefore, as a philosophic theory, does not consist in the denial of the being of a God, but in the affirmation that there is no evidence that there is one. The moral value of the distinction between these two positions is *nil*, but the intellectual one is great, for it frees him who entertains it from the necessity of proving a negative.

"The following is worthy of quotation, as an illustration of the nature of the elder Mill's atheistic reasonings. 'He impressed upon me from the first that the manner in which the world came into existence was a subject about which nothing was known; that the question, "Who made me?" cannot be answered, because we have no experience or authentic information from which to answer it; and that the answer only throws the difficulty a step further back, since the question immediately presents itself, "Who made God?" It is almost incredible that such reasoning could have commended itself as valid to a man of the mental acuteness of the elder Mill; and it is quite a relief to be informed by the son that his father's atheism was rather moral than intellectual.

"I now proceed to examine some of the philosophic principles on which modern Pantheism and Atheism are based; and, first, their principle of causation. It is an accepted dogma of the Positive philosophy that a cause is nothing but an invariable sequence between an antecedent and a consequent, and that the notion of any efficiency in the cause to produce its effect is a fancy which has been exploded by the discoveries of physical science. This opinion is the natural outcome of a philosophy which teaches that the whole of objective nature, and even the fundamental principles of the mind, are nothing else but a bare succession of phenomena; and that a know-

ledge of any truth objectively valid for all time and space is unattainable by man.

"It strikes one at first sight as a strong objection against such a system of philosophy that language has been formed on the assumption that it is not true; its forms embody the universal experience of mankind, and have grown out of that experience. Now, nothing is more certain than that whenever we use words denoting causation we mean by them something very different from the mere invariable following of a consequent on an antecedent. If this is the true idea of a cause, nothing is more misleading than human language; for it is impossible to express the conceptions of this philosophy in it except by using it in a non-natural sense. One of the first duties which it owes to truth is to revolutionize human language, for, in its present forms, it is incapable of being the vehicle of accurate thought. If, therefore, this philosophy is a true representation of ultimate realities, one of its first duties is to attempt to construct a language capable of expressing them. At present it is a strong argument against the truth of this system of philosophy, that a few philosophers are committed to a particular theory on the one side; and, on the contrary, is the universal experience of mankind, as testified by the fundamental structure and the forms of language. . . . .

"We must now consider another most important principle on which this philosophy is founded—viz.,

its denial that the order and adaptations of nature are a sufficient ground for inferring the existence of an intelligent and conscious mind, which the philosophy of theism designates as a Personal God. The affirmation of certain systems of current philosophy is clear, and leaves no doubtful issue—viz., that we are not justified from the presence of order in nature in inferring the existence of an arranger; or from adaptation, of an adapter, or from apparent contrivance, of a contriver; or from the suitableness of the means by which a definite result has been brought about to effectuate it, of a designer. In one word, it is affirmed, when we see in nature results which elsewhere are unquestionable evidences of the presence of intelligent mind, all such inferences are invalid in the domains of nature; and that in making them we are only transferring the subjective impressions of our own minds into objective facts. On the contrary, this philosophy teaches that the order and adaptations of nature are not due to the presence of conscious intelligence; but of latent unintelligent self-evolution. To put the matter broadly: it is affirmed that intelligence has not produced nature, its order and adaptations, but that nature is the storehouse from which unintelligent law and latent forces have evolved all these wonderful phenomena. Non-life has generated life; unintelligence, intelligence; unconsciousness, self-consciousness; impersonality, personality; necessary law, freedom; latent forces, moral agents.

One aspect of pantheistic philosophy postulates the presence of unconscious intelligence in nature. But what is its nature, how it acts, or in what it is inherent, it leaves involved in a haziness which far exceeds that of any mystery involved in theism.

"Let us do these theories justice. It is affirmed that our conceptions of order and adaptation are essentially human, and have no validity when they are applied to anything which is not the product of the human mind. Also it is affirmed that all analogy fails between the works of nature and those of man; and that this renders invalid the conclusions which the theist seeks to draw from them.

"I reply that the objection is invalid, because, if true, it condemns us to universal ignorance. Our conceptions of law, force, and energy are human conceptions, the creation of our own minds. If this is a reason why they must be invalid in the one case, it is no less so why our reasonings respecting them must be invalid in the other. The objection is suicidal, and one which would render all philosophy impossible.

"But further: when we contemplate order and adaptation, we do not infer from it the presence of any particular form of intelligence, but of intelligence generally; just as when we speak of matter, time, and place we do not confine them to the special subjects from which we have derived our conception of them; but we apply them to phenomena generally. It is perfectly true that within the range of our experience,

men and animals are the only beings who are capable of producing the results of order and adaptation. We have evidence that among these, different orders of intelligence exist. We are therefore justified in concluding that different orders and degrees of intelligence may exist in regions beyond our experience; though they may differ in some respects from that of men.

"I admit that there are a few cases in which order and adaptation have resulted from the action of that which, for want of a better term, we designate chance. Such, however, are so rare, and the instances so imperfect, that they are not worthy of consideration in the present argument. One thing is certain. As far as our experience goes, chance is only capable of producing such results on a very diminutive scale, and after long intervals of time. Yet the principle of chance is largely invoked in aid of the theories of this philosophy; though all experience affirms that it is incapable of producing the results in question.

"The all-important fact to be observed is that, as far as experience goes, lucky chances have no tendency to repeat themselves. On the contrary, the legitimate inference is that the occurrence of one once is a reason why we should expect it not to occur again. Whenever such a result takes place frequently, we cannot help inferring that this must be due to the intervention of mind. Let us take an example. If we were to throw up twelve dice into the air at haphazard, it is possible, though in the highest degree

improbable, that they might all fall with their aces uppermost. But if the operation were repeated one hundred times, and the same result followed, there is no one who is capable of understanding the operation who would not draw the conclusion that the dice were heavily loaded as the highest of certitudes. The case is precisely similar with respect to the order and adaptations of nature. They are not only numerous but innumerable. It follows, therefore, that nature in every part is loaded heavily, and that that which loads it is the Divine mind.

"It will be objected that this philosophy nowhere affirms that order and adaptation have been evolved by chance action, but by forces working in conformity with immutable law. I reply that chance is only another name for the blind action of unintelligent laws and forces, and that the only additional factor introduced by the term chance, is that two or more of these forces or laws happen to intersect one another at a time and place suitable for producing a particular result, and without which concurrence the result could not have existed. When these do so at such a time and place that a particular effect is the result of their intersection, this is what we call a lucky chance. What I mean will be more easily understood by an illustration. Let us suppose a rock undergoing the process of disintegration. The action of water and of frost have opened in it several fissures. In accordance with another set of natural laws, the wind, or some

other force, carries into them at this particular moment a number of seeds. These take root; fresh disintegration takes place. The operation is repeated; and thus the process is accelerated far more than it could have been by the action of a single force. This philosophy is compelled to invoke the aid of such lucky concurrences of forces in numbers numberless. Without them it would be powerless to impart to its speculations even the appearance of probability. In addition to this, it demands the right of drawing to any extent on the eternity of the past for an indefinite amount of time for the purpose of carrying on its operations. What is not possible in one hundred years may happen in one million. In this manner, with the bank of eternity at command, all things are possible.

"I submit that this mode of reasoning is not to solve the question, but to evade it. It gives no real account of the origin of those adaptations with which the universe abounds. On the contrary, there is something in the constitution of our minds which compels us when we contemplate an adaptation of complicated parts, exactly fitted to produce a suitable result, and observe that the result is brought about by the adaptation, to infer that it has been effected by the action of intelligence. Reason arrives at the conclusion that order and adaptation cannot have resulted from the action of unintelligent forces, but of intelligent mind. This will be the invariable inference,

except where the exigences of a particular theory compel those who hold it to renounce the convictions of common sense. Let it be observed that I am speaking, not of some imperfect condition of the human savage, but of the fully developed intellect of cultivated men.

"The importance of this principle in reference to the philosophy of Pantheism and Atheism is strikingly brought before us in the celebrated work of Strauss, entitled 'The Old Faith and the New,' in which he professes not only to state his own opinions, but to be acting as the mouthpiece of a large number of German unbelievers. As this work has already gone through more than one edition in our language, besides the large number that it had previously gone through in Germany, it will be necessary to give it a special attention, for the purpose of exposing the unsound basis of its philosophy. The questions discussed in it are such that it is impossible to exaggerate their importance. They are as follows: In answer to the question, Are we still Christians? in the name of advanced thought in Germany, he answers in the negative. In reply to the question, Have we a religion? the answer is of a similar import. In answer to the question, What is our conception of the universe? his reply assumes the form of a material Pantheism, which differs in nothing from Atheism except in an illicit use of the language of Theism Lastly, wonderful to say, in answer to the question,

What is our rule of life? he announces himself a thorough-going German conservative, and utters a loud protest against the various forms of Communistic Atheism. It would appear that he and those in whose name he speaks are of opinion that the only effective mode to bar out the ocean is to demolish the old strongly-built sea-wall to its foundations, which has for ages past successfully repelled its billows, and in future to attempt to dam them out by substituting for it a thin layer of sand.

"The faith into which the author's philosophy has conducted him, and those in whose name he speaks, is that of the existence of a Cosmos, the sum total of all being, material, mental, and moral, including all existence and its laws, but which is void of personality, which is deaf to the voice of prayer; in which the place of volition is supplied by necessary and unyielding laws; of an intelligent Creator, by a self-developing power utterly unconscious, which to man is incapable of being the object of either hope or trust; which in the course of its self-development has evolved both the individual and the race, and will crush them again beneath the heel of iron destiny. This power will, through the endless whirl of the eternities of time and the infinities of space, go on evolving fresh worlds out of the ashes of preceding ones, and endless successions of systems and of galaxies, in which we as individuals shall take no part, to be again absorbed into the bosom of the mighty

infinite. At death our self-conscious existence shall perish, never to be renewed. The atoms which compose us, after having been absorbed into the unconscious infinite, may be useful as materials for future life: but the hope and the destiny of the individual is eternal silence. To this, the only alleviation which this philosophy affords, is the consideration that while our conscious selves have utterly perished, the cosmos will go on evolving fresh forms of life and beauty throughout eternity, and will crush them again beneath the iron wheels of its chariot. No feeling of responsibility for the past need disturb us. Our destiny is non-entity.

"Such is the general sum total—the net result which this philosophy propounds to us in lieu of Theism. A few quotations from it will place its principles in a striking light.

"'The argument of the old religion was, that as the reasonable and the good in mankind proceed from consciousness and will, that, therefore, which on a large scale corresponds to this in the world must likewise proceed from an Author endowed with intelligent volition. We have given up this mode of inference. We no longer regard the Cosmos as the work of a reasonable and good Creator, but rather as the laboratory of the reasonable and good. We consider it not as planned by the highest reason, but planned for the highest reason. The Cosmos is simultaneously both cause and effect, the outward and

the inward together.' Again: 'We stand here at the limits of our knowledge. We gaze into the abyss, we can fathom no further. But this at least is certain, that the personal image which meets our gaze there is but the reflection of the wondering spectator himself. If we always bear this in mind, there would be as little objection to the expression "God" as to that of the rising and setting of the sun, when we are all the time conscious of the actual circumstances.' After these and numerous similar assertions, the following utterance is remarkable: 'At any rate, that on which we feel ourselves entirely dependent is by no means merely a rude power, to which we bow in mute resignation; but is at the same time both order and law, reason and goodness, to which we surrender ourselves in loving trust. More than this—as we perceive in ourselves the same disposition to the reasonable and the good which we recognise in the Cosmos, and find ourselves to be beings by whom it is felt and recognised, in whom it is to become personified, we also feel ourselves related in our inmost nature to that on which we are dependent; we discover ourselves at the same time to be free in that dependence, and pride and humility, joy and submission intermingle in the feeling for the Cosmos.'

"Such is the substitute which this philosophy provides for a personal God. We are to feel all this for a being (if an infinite Cosmos can be called a

being) who has neither personality, intelligence, nor will; who is the prey of inexorable law; who is incapable alike of affection and of thought; who, if he has children, has not made a single provision for their wants, cares not for them, and in due time inexorably devours them. Surely the theories of Atheism are rational compared with a Pantheism which offers such adulation to a Cosmos which can neither see, hear, feel, nor think, which is alike incapable of affections and intelligent volition. Truly, one is reminded of the mocking of Elijah, 'Cry aloud, for he is a god. Surely he sleepeth, and must be awaked.'

"One of the atheistic friends of our author, whose works he advises the reader not to glance at but to study, pronounces that it would have been better if the universe had never existed; and if no life had ever arisen in the earth any more than in the moon. This assertion is certainly not invalidated by Strauss's thin logic. 'If it be true,' says he, 'it follows that the thought that it would have been better if the universe had never existed, had better not to have existed likewise.' One can hardly help thinking that the following passage must have been written in irony:—'Sallies of this kind, as we remarked, impress our intelligence as absurd, but our feelings as blasphemous. We consider it arrogant and profane on the part of a single individual to oppose himself with such audacious levity to the Cosmos whence he springs, from which also he derives that spark of reason which he misuses.'

"But I must now draw attention to some of the principles from which the author considers that these are natural conclusions.

"He begins with the conception of the Cosmos, which he defines 'not only as the sum total of all phenomena, but also of all forces and of all laws. The All,' says he, 'being the all, nothing can exist outside it; it seems even to include the void beyond.' After having pointed out the various changes through which its various parts have passed, he goes on to assert that this infinite Cosmos constitutes a unity. 'The Cosmos itself,' says he, 'the sum total of infinite worlds, in all stages of growth and decay, abides eternally unchanged in the constancy of its absolute energy amidst the everlasting revolution and mutation of its parts.'

"I have quoted these passages for the purpose of showing that the fundamental difficulties of this philosophy fully equal those of theism, against which it is in vain for it to urge that it enters into the regions of the unknowable. If the universe is the sum total of all phenomena, forces, and laws, a few questions may be propounded for its solution. Is it nothing but these? Are phenomena and laws possessed of an objective existence, or must something else underlie them? Are laws existences, or modes of existence, or what are they? Are its forces actually existent things, or qualities inherent in them? Again: 'the Cosmos is the sum total of infinite

worlds.' It is therefore infinite, but consists of finite parts. Can it therefore be a unity? It follows, then, that that which is infinite is not absolutely unthinkable, and that some of the conceptions which are derived from our finite modes of being may be projected into it without violating any principle of sound philosophy. But further: this infinite universe consists of parts several of which are infinite; it follows, therefore, that an infinitude which is composed of subordinate infinities, can constitute a unity. But, as a crowning mystery, we are told that it abides eternally unchanged in the constancy of its absolute energy amidst the everlasting revolution and mutation of its parts. Surely a philosophy which admits a number of such positions among its fundamental principles may be asked to show a little modesty when it assails the difficulties of theism. The one contains unfathomable mysteries equally as the other.

"'But,' says our author, 'the Cosmos is a phœnix, ever recovering itself from its ashes.' Yes, surely, it is a consolatory truth for men who will never renew their personal existence, to be assured that their remorseless parent never had a beginning to its activities, and never shall have an end, but that it shall continue throughout the infinities of time and space to cast up the bubbles of phenomena, and devour them, to reappear again, in endless progression. Yet this is the god of this philosophy, who goes on end-

lessly reproducing himself, under the impulse of blind forces directed by equally blind laws, in endless forms of life and death, of reproduction and decay, throughout the dismal eternity of the future. Full well may Strauss's atheist friend satirize the folly of such a god. But, no: he is alike incapable of wisdom and of folly; though he contains in himself potentiality, and evolves into actuality all wisdom and all folly, all order and disorder, all growth and decay, all good and evil, all virtue and all crime. Verily such a god cannot be a phœnix, but a Proteus. Yet our author, and those in whose name he speaks, assert that they think it worthy of a reverent regard, and that to insult it is a blasphemy!

"There is an obvious difficulty which confronts this philosophy, of which it does not attempt to offer a solution. If the Cosmos is thus eternally reproductive, why may it not at some period during the infinity of future time reproduce our own personal existence, and even hold us resposible for what we have done in our previous state of being? To do so would only be to add one wonder more to the multitude of wonders which it is declared to be able to effect. Against this most serious contingency this philosophy has nothing to offer but its dogmatic assertion, that personal existence, after its fleeting phenomenal appearance, must sink into eternal silence.

"Let us now examine some of the processes by

which it attempts to account for the origin of the existing order of things. With respect to some of the processes by means of which it affirms the universe of matter to have been constructed, we need have no difficulty. They may have been the very means which the Creator has employed to effectuate His purposes; and to accept them as denoting the law according to which creation has been evolved is quite consistent with a belief in Theism. As all His manifestations with which we are acquainted are in conformity with law, and involve the use of means, so there is no difficulty in conceiving that God's creative work has been conducted in conformity with a definite law and order, and that He has made use of means in effecting it, instead of creating each separate existence immediately. On the contrary, it is highly probable that such would be the mode of His action.

"But this is widely different from the assumption that the Cosmos can have been built up by the action of blind forces without the aid of intelligence and will. Law, however convenient as a term, denotes nothing but an invariable mode of action. In itself it embraces no conception of energy or power, although nothing is more common, even in philosophic language, than to confound this conception with it. But it is impossible to build the universe without the energetic action of both these. Unless forces have an action given to them, they can effect

nothing—confusion, not harmonious arrangement, will be the results of their operations. These can only be found in intelligence and will. As far as human experience extends, forces acting in conformity with blind laws, have never produced a single adaptation, order, or arrangement, but destruction only. This philosophy, for the purpose of enabling it to dispense with the directing power of intelligence and will, postulates an eternity of time, during which forces have acted, and affirms that this can produce all the results of intelligent volition.

"Having evolved the matter of the universe into planets, suns, and systems, by means which the Theist need not dispute, as long as they have an omnipotent intelligence at their back, energizing in and through them, our author is compelled to face the question of the origin of life. He is fully aware of the difficulty of the problem, and admits that it is no solution of it to say, that its absence may be accounted for in the lower strata, by the supposition that causes may have been in existence which have destroyed all traces of it. 'There was a time,' says he, 'when the temperature of the earth was so high, that living organisms could not exist on it. There was once no organic life on the earth: at a later period there was: it must consequently have had a beginning, and the question is, how?'

"Yes, truly; that is the question. Kant judged that it might well be said, 'Give me matter, and

I will explain the origin of the world; but not, Give me matter, and I will explain the origin of a caterpillar.' Let it not be forgotten also that Kant bowed in reverence before the moral nature of man, and its authoritative affirmation of the obligation of the moral law. These mighty gulfs, however, the philosophy of Atheism and Pantheism has attempted to bridge over. 'Here,' says Strauss, 'faith intervenes with its miracle.' This philosophy postulates an operation no less miraculous—viz., the action of blind forces under the direction of blind laws, continued throughout an eternity of time.

"I need hardly say, that our author resolves all difficulties by boldly assuming the truth of the theory of spontaneous generation. Here let it be observed, that Atheism is obliged to use a word which implies the presence of will. He admits the uncertainty of previous experiments; but nothing daunted, he affirms, 'If the question of spontaneous generation could not be proved in regard to our present terrestrial period, this would establish nothing with respect to a primeval period under totally different conditions. The existence of the crudest form of life has however never been actually demonstrated. Life too, after all, is nothing but a form of motion.'

"On questions of pure physics I shall not enter. But it belongs to the present subject to point out the conditions of the problem which this philosophy has to solve; and not to allow it to substitute an unreal

for the true issue. That issue is not the one here stated. Before it can advance one step, proof positive of the truth of the theory of spontaneous generation must be given. It is no solution of the problem to take refuge in the assumed possibility, that it may have taken place under widely different conditions during the uncertain past. To do so is cunningly to assume the question at issue. Professor Huxley tells us that proof of the theory of spontaneous generation has yet to be given.

"But further: supposing a living being of the lowest type could be constructed in the laboratory, does this bring us one atom nearer to the point at issue? The real question is, whence comes living matter? and what is the distinction between it and non-living matter? There our opponents, being the judges, differ *toto cœlo* from each other. Is there any evidence that matter which has never lived, can be made to pass into living forms? Till this can be shown, the mere formation of a being in the laboratory, which possesses the lowest form of life, proves nothing. The only adequate solution of this question on the Pantheistic and Atheistic side is proof positive that life is a mode of motion, and nothing else. This proof has certainly not yet been adduced, and even if it could be found, there is yet a further question which demands an answer—viz., how, whence, and where has originated this peculiar modification of motion which constitutes life; and how has it come

into existence at the favourable moment for its existence? Had it not been favourable, the feeble germ would have been crushed by the mighty powers of nature in the struggle for existence. All this and much more must be answered before it can be proved that mechanical or chemical forces can become vital ones by any powers which they possess of self-transmutation.

"Our author endeavours to evade the question by concealing it behind a mass of scientific jargon. He says: 'Life is only a special—viz., the most complicated, form of mechanics. A part of the sum total of matter emerges from time to time out of the usual course of its motions into special thermico-organic combinations; and after having for a time continued therein, it returns again to the general modes of motion.'

"When we are famishing for scientific bread, it is cruel for philosophy to throw us a stone. As an account of the matter we are considering, part of the above sentence is unintelligible, and the remainder attempts to answer one difficulty by raising others far greater.

"The perusal of this work affords a striking proof that the philosophers in whose names it is written were far from being satisfied with their position, even after they had obtained possession of an inorganic cell, from whence they might commence the operation of creating the various forms of organic life, of which

man is the crown. They felt deeply, in the words of our author, 'that no acorn ever produces a fig; that a fish always produces a fish, and never a bird or a reptile; a sheep always produces a sheep, and never a bull or a goat.' They have therefore hailed, as the rising of a new sun, the theory of natural selection as a means for constructing the worlds of life and organism, without the intervention of a Creator. For the use they make of it, it is possible that its author will owe them little thanks; but they are almost ready to forgive Mr. Darwin for his postulate of the original intervention of a God to infuse into inorganic matter the principle of life, in consideration of the greatness of his discovery. He is with them, the founder of the new age, in which the belief in the being of a God is destined to become an old wife's fable.

"Let it be observed, however, that the Darwinian theory, whatever be its merits or defects, is only a special form of a theory of creation by evolution. It assumes, in the first instance, a creative act, by which some cells had infused into them the principle of life. It then proceeds to account for the existence of every living form by the aid of two principles, designated natural and sexual relation, without any subsequent intervention of Divine power. Whatever may be thought of this particular theory, it is evident that a principle of evolution, by which I mean that all existing organisms have been gradually evolved from

one another by the Creator's wisdom and power, through certain forces of which He possesses the absolute control, is as consistent with theism as any other theory of creation. The only theories which are essentially Atheistic and Pantheistic are those which lay down that God is not the author of the laws of nature, nor their contriver, nor the director of their operations, and that blind forces can produce the phenomena which result from the operation of intelligence, and that forces can exist independently of His constant energy. The old theory of creation was, that each species was produced by a separate creative act, the idea being that its progenitors must have started into being entire and complete. This may or may not have been the *modus operandi* employed by the Creator; but, as a theory, it leaves us in the dark how creation was effected, except that it was the result of the exertion of the divine will. A theory of development professes to give the law of progress and to account for some of the means through which creation has been accomplished. Whether it has been effected in this way, or in that, can only be determined by the facts of nature which throw light on the subject. To speak of creation out of nothing as an adequate solution of how creation has been effected is only a confession of our ignorance. The real point is, is the theory suggested an adequte account of the facts of nature? Are the means adequate to produce the result? Or must other agencies

have contributed to it, and among them the direct intervention of God?

"There is, unquestionably, a tendency among religious men to charge every theory of creation by evolution with Pantheistic and Atheistic tendencies. This would be just, if it were a necessary part of such theories, that blind forces and laws are able to produce this result independently of the power and intelligence of a personal God. But where I ask, is the Pantheism and Atheism, if we assume that the Creator has followed a definite order and law in His creative acts, and has carried them on, as He does all the acts of His providence, by the use of means? Or if, instead of causing the first progenitors of a species to spring up from the ground, he has produced them out of beings previously in existence? Our present knowledge is very inadequate to determine how creation has been effected. This is a strong reason why we should avoid premature dogmatizing; but certainly none why we should not make it the subject of careful study.

"There are not wanting indications that in the formation of the universe the Creator has acted through the agency of means, and not by that which we designate direct action. Of this the evidence is considerable. Whether this be an entire account of the matter is quite another question. Still more clear is it that His creative acts have followed a sequence and order, and been constituted on a general plan. This

latter point must be admitted even by those who refuse to admit the theory of creation by evolution. We might have hoped that the general acquiescence in the well-known illustration of Paley's watch, would have been a sufficient safeguard against wholesale denunciations of those who hold this theory as if it were destructive of Theism. As he observes, if a watch could be so constructed as to produce another watch by its mechanism, and should thus go on producing a succession of watches, each possessed of the power of self-reparation, we should feel the most profound admiration for the skill of the artist. Nor would it be diminished, if the mechanism could construct a first-rate chronometer; and this a succession of still more perfect instruments. The only point in which such a theory can be either Pantheistic or Atheistic is when it is assumed that such harmonies can have resulted from the action of blind forces, without the intervention of intelligence.

"Still more remarkable is it that such a theory should be suspected of Pantheistic or Atheistic tendencies, when we reflect that the mode in which God has created every individual is by a process of evolution. Yet surely it will not be pretended that He has not made each one of us, and every individual of every species. Yet He has unquestionably effected this by a process of evolution. The media through which He works may be very obscure; but this does not affect the fact itself. History also teaches that in man the

evolution of more perfect from less perfect states, is the order of God's providential government of the world. The New Testament declares that Revelation has been communicated in a similar manner. Why, then, may not the Creator have created different species by producing one out of another by a process unknown to us? It is absurd to attempt to shut up all inquiries on this subject, by asserting that all such theories are either Pantheistic or Atheistic.

"Still it is undeniable that the Darwinian form of this theory has been widely embraced by the philosophic schools in question, as affording an apparent solution of some of their difficulties. The joy with which they have hailed its advent is very remarkable. It becomes, therefore, a duty thoroughly to examine into its ability to produce the results in question, and to estimate the difficulties with which it is attended. Yet it must not be forgotten that its author distinctly assumes the necessity of a Creator to infuse into matter the first forms of life, and to impress on it its laws. This difficulty can only be got over by Pantheists and Atheists by the exercise of a hearty faith in some unknown powers of the past or discoveries of the future. It follows, therefore, that the faith which they deride in connexion with religion and Christianity is essential to this philosophy. It demands the exercise of faith in the unseen—viz., the discoveries of the future or the unknown possibilities of the past, for without it it is destitute of even the semblance of

proof. It would seem as if faith in the unseen is only objectionable when it is demanded in connexion with religion.

"It follows, therefore, that it is impossible for these systems to bridge over the interval which separates life from not life. There is also another interval which can be spanned by no arch—viz., the production of the power of sensation. According to these theories, there must have been a time when there was no sensation in that part of the universe to which we belong. There, therefore, must have been a time when the first being which was capable of sensation sprang into existence. Pantheism will, perhaps, affirm that the infinite Cosmos has ever possessed within itself sensation and intelligence. If so, particles capable of sensation must have existed in that fire mist out of which the present order of things has been evolved, the heat of which was sufficient to have sustained all existing matter in the form of gas. If so, their existence must have been very uncomfortable during the countless ages the matter of the solar and sidereal systems has taken in cooling. The alternative will doubtless be preferred, that a time once was, when the first being capable of sensation began to be. But a vast interval separates the sentient from the non-sentient, not a succession of trifling variations. The philosophy which attempts to construct a universe without the intervention of a God is bound to

give us an account of how the first sentient being began to be.

"But there are several other states of being which are separated from each other, not by short steps but by vast intervals. Among these self-consciousness occupies a conspicuous place. It is obvious that it exists. It is as certain as any fact of time or space. We can all and each of us utter the mysterious word 'I,' and attach a distinct meaning to it. It is the most mysterious of words. Who shall fathom its profound depths? It is that which separates between self and not-self, person and thing. It is that which constitutes us a unity in the midst of plurality and change. As beings capable of self-consciousness, we feel that we have existed through long intervals of time, surrounded by and deeply interested in multitudes of things which are not ourselves. Not one particle of matter constitutes our present bodies which composed them twenty years since, yet we are the same. There must have been a time when self-conscious beings existed not. There must, therefore, have been one when a self-conscious being first began to be. Here then is an interval, the depth of which the imagination can but imperfectly fathom. It is not too much to say that no theory of evolution can bridge this over without the intervention of a self-conscious Creator.

"There is yet another interval. A being may be

a person, and yet have no conception of right or duty. I select this conception as representative of the whole moral nature of man, of which it forms the most remarkable characteristic. It is immaterial to my argument whether the utilitarian philosophy is correct in its analysis of the origin of the idea. I firmly believe that it is not. But the fact cannot be gainsaid, that vast number of minds, of the highest order, have a clear conception of duty quite distinct from any reference to utilitarianism. On the contrary, they feel the strongest obligation to sacrifice themselves to it in contradiction to the strongest dictates of expediency. There is something within us which says, let right prevail, even if the heavens fall. There must, therefore, have been a time when the first being, who was capable of feeling a sense of duty, who could bow before a moral law, and say, 'I ought,' began to be. The interval is one which separates the conception of duty from non-duty; of conscience from non-conscience; of a moral nature from the want of it. The difference is not one of degree but of kind. Between laws of motion and their modifications, and conceptions of duty, there is no one thing in common. When the idea of duty first originated a new order of being entered the universe.

"Even if the principle of the utilitarian philosophy is correct, that duty is the obligation to seek the greatest happiness of the greatest number, the argument is unaffected by it. The question still impera-

tively demands solution, how came it ever to be felt to be a duty, to seek the greatest happiness of the greatest number? When and how has this sentiment arisen? Of what form of motion is it the modification?

"Such are some of the gaps which must be bridged over by means of clear and indisputable facts, before a philosophy which has no other forces at its command but blind, unintelligent ones, can account for the origin of things. But supposing for argument's sake that these have been surmounted, the question at once arises, whether the Pantheistic and Atheistic theory of evolution is adequate to account for the existence of the various orders of beings which lie within these bounds. I will now examine some of the special agencies by which it has been attempted to be shown that the various forms of organized life have been developed without the agency of a being possessed of personal intelligence and power. The only principles which this philosophy presses into its service for that purpose are Darwin's two principles of natural and sexual relation.

"I by no means wish to affirm that these may not have been potent instruments in the hands of Omnipotence by which God has carried on His creative work. That they act within certain limits is an obvious fact. The question is, what are those limits? Are they the only agencies? Are they alone adequate to the work? Must not other principles, known and

unknown, have contributed to it? Is their distinct and separate agency conceivable without Omnipotence at their back?

"We must begin by assuming that life has somehow originated in the earth. The problem before us is as follows: given matter and force acting in conformity with invariable laws, both alike destitute of intelligence, to evolve everything in the sentient universe, which bears the indications of the action of intelligence. Let us even suppose that one or more cells have been evolved from which our course of evolution is to commence which is ultimately to culminate in the production of man.

"There is one resource to which this philosophy flies in every difficulty, and which it uses with unbounded freedom—an infinite storehouse of past time. If a thing cannot be effected in one thousand years, it can in a million; if not in a million, it can in one hundred million. If the last period is inadequate, boldly multiply, for it is impossible to break the bank of the eternity of the past. With this agency at its command, all things are possible. Let us hear Strauss:—'Short steps and longest intervals of time are the magic formula by which actual science at present solves the mystery of the universe: they are the talismans by whose aid she quite naturally unlocks the portals, formerly reputed to fly asunder at the sole bidding of miracle.'

"Yes, truly: there is more truth in this passage

than its author probably intended to convey. The action of this principle is truly magical and talismanic; it is worthy of the deep consideration of those who invoke it, whether it can effect any results more real than the magical formularies and talismans of the 'Arabian Nights.' Little jumps, and infinite time to jump in, is all that is required to evolve all the order and adaptations of the universe, which exist in numbers passing all comprehension. The proposition that, if we have time enough to walk to a galaxy, compared with which the distance of Sirius is a speck, by taking steps of an inch long, we shall get there in the course of infinite time, may be incapable of being disproved; but it is absurd. I submit that this continual invocation of infinite time is not a rational solution of a difficulty, but an evasion of it.

"The truth is that physical science breaks this magic wand in the hands of the operator. While it tells us that the universe has existed a vast interval of time in its present form, it affirms that it cannot have existed for an indefinite one. The laws of its physical forces assign to it clear and definite limits, which it cannot have exceeded. It follows, therefore, that indefinite demands on a past eternity cannot be tolerated by a sound philosophy.

"Not only is this philosophy compelled to assume that a number of small variations must have taken place, which for any practical purpose it is impossible to distinguish from infinite; but it is compelled to

take for granted that all those have been on the side of progressive improvement. Yet the history of man testifies that nature has made many failures and retrogressions. Human progress has been, unhappily, full of them. But these are easily got rid of by the theory of the destruction of the weakest and the survival of the strongest in the struggle for existence. Yet history informs us that some of the weak races of mankind have a remarkable tenacity of life.

"But if such a tendency exists in nature, this philosophy is bound to give us some account of its origin. Tendencies in nature on the side of progress are very useful ones. It is, therefore, a serious question, How got they there? For aught that appears, blind matter, force, and law might have produced tendencies suited to shiver systems to pieces, and not to construct them. Does not the existence of such tendencies imply the presence of superintending mind?

"But, says this philosophy, all that is necessary is to continue advancing by slow and gradual variations; and this glorious universe, with all its complicated adaptions, crowned by man, will appear at last! We need not care for the shortness nor the variety of the steps, nor for occasional movements in a backward direction; for have we not infinite time at our command? The cell with its lowest forms of life, or the intellectual or moral atoms diffused in yonder fire-mist, will in due time produce all the complicated organ-

isms of living beings, with their wondrous adaptations, and at length a Newton, a Shakspeare, and a self-denying Howard.

"But, I ask emphatically, are such short steps all that is required? Shall we not be brought to a standstill by the absence of necessary conditions? Blind forces cannot effect their work except by the aid of things which, for want of a better name, we must call favourable chances, by which I mean forces intersecting one another at the right time and place. What myriads of forces must have worked in vain for the want of this condition of successful operation? Let me illustrate this by the example which Strauss has chosen as an illustration of the manner in which we may readily account for the production of the various organisms of nature. 'Let us suppose,' says he, 'a herd of cattle in primitive times to be still destitute of horns, only possessed of powerful necks and projecting foreheads. The herd is attacked by beasts of prey: it defends itself by running against them and butting with the head. The butting will be the more vigorous, the bulls the fitter to resist the beasts of prey, the harder the forehead with which he butts. Should this butting in an individual have developed into an incipient horny accretion, then such an individual would have the best chance of preserving his existence. If the less equipped bulls of such a herd were torn to pieces, then the individual thus equipped would propagate the species. Unquestionably there

would be some at least among its descendants in whose case the paternal equipment would be repeated; and if on renewed attacks these very ones again survived, and, moreover, principally those whose horns were most developed, then little by little, by transmission of this weapon to the other sex, a completely horned species would be formed, especially if the other sex would of its accord give the preference to the males thus ornamented; and here Darwin's theory of natural selection is supplemented by the so-called sexual selection, to which he has recently devoted a special work.'

"Few of the operations of nature would seem to be more simple than the manufacture of a horn; let us, therefore, carefully examine the amount of time and lucky chance which this theory finds it necessary to postulate as necessary for its formation. This will give us a clear idea of the difficulties which must have been surmounted in the course of the evolution of man from an inorganic cell, if there was nothing but unintelligent forces to operate with.

"I. The theory before us presupposes a very favourable concurrence of circumstances with which to commence our operations. Nature has already kindly furnished us with a herd of cattle, with powerful necks and protruding foreheads. How long it must have taken to form these latter appendages this philosophy does not tell us. Having eternity at is command, it simply brandishes its magic wand and

says, as indefinite a number of æons of past time as you require.

"II. Another favourable condition is provided all ready for our use. It seems that a horn cannot be grown on a hornless animal without the exercise of butting; accordingly, a number of beasts of prey are at hand at the proper time and place to offer battle to our unhorned herd—these, be it observed, are supposed to be fully equipped with all their weapons of offence. But suppose that these latter had come into existence at a different time and place, or that instead of our oxen being surrounded by beasts of prey, they had come into existence among a number of peaceful creatures, the whole operation of horn-growing must have come to a standstill. The concurrence of such favourable contingencies could only have occurred after the lapse of indefinite æons.

"III. The herd, when attacked, defend themselves by butting. It was fortunate that nature should have furnished them with this impulse. This looks like the presence of intelligence, for unintelligent nature might quite as well have provided them with a disposition to run away when attacked, as she has the hare, and there would have been no tendency to generate a horn. Such a disposition must have required the concurrence of multitudes of favourable circumstances for its formation, as well as that of indefinite æons of time.

"IV. The act of butting has a tendency to harden

the skull; this we know to be a fact. Still, a philosophy whose object is not theory, but truth, cannot help inquiring, Whence came this tendency? It might have been one in an opposite direction.

"V. We are next invited to assume that repeated acts of battery have not only hardened the skull, but developed a horny accretion. The remarks of our author might lead the reader to believe that all this could have been effected in a single generation of bull life. But it is quite evident that it could only have been the result of the struggles of protracted generations, who succeeded in transmitting to their descendants a gradually increasing horny appendage. If it were not so, bull life in those primeval ages must have been protracted to a period compared with which the age of Methuselah must have been as nothing. Let it be observed also, that the concurrence of every one of these favourable conditions must have been continually repeating themselves.

"VI. The bulls, says our author, who have succeeded in developing these horny appendages will have the best chance of preserving their existence. Still this is a chance only, but not a certainty, for many other contingencies might have destroyed them. Deaths from disease were probably not unknown in primeval times, and against this the possession of an incipient horn would have been no prevention.

"VII. We are next asked to assume that these

bulls go on continually fighting until all the less equipped ones are torn in pieces, in order that an individual with incipient horns may become the progenitor of a race. This philosophy, however, is utterly silent as to the number of years and of favourable contingencies it would have taken to bring about this result. It simply brandishes its magic wand, and the unhorned oxen disappear.

"VIII. It is necessary that the bull with incipient horns should procreate descendants similarly equipped. It is undoubtedly in accordance with natural facts that he should do so. Still this philosophy is bound to tell us how came this law into existence, for it has the appearace of being a result of that intelligence the existence of which it denies.

"IX. Our incipient horn has yet to grow into a longer one, and then into a longer one, until it attains its full length. For this purpose, these processes of fightings and buttings, and throwing out of small variations and survivals of the strongest, besides ever-recurring favourable contingencies, have to be repeated times without number. To evade these difficulties our only resource is again and again to brandish our magic talisman of infinite time.

"X. As yet this long and painful process has only led to the evolution of horned individuals, and not a horned race. We must therefore invoke the theory of sexual selection, and suppose that the horned females fall in love with the horned appendage of

their male companions. It is not easy for us to say what are the precise ideas which cows entertain of beauty. We know however, that it is far from an invariable fact that the most handsome men and women unite in matrimony. Still, however, the assumption must be made, that the horned bull is irresistibly attractive to the horned cow before a horned species can be finally established by the forces at the service of this philosophy.

"It is hardly possible to go through these successions of indefinite æons of time, and of concurrences of lucky chances with gravity, and suppose that they constitute a true account of the past history of the race of long-horned oxen. But the consequence which I deduce from it is a perfectly grave one. Few operations of nature can have been more simple than the evolution of a horn. But if by the aid of these forces alone the operation must have been so complicated, involving indefinite æons of time, and the casual concurrence of multitudes of happy chances, for its accomplishment, what must we say of the period requisite for the production of the other peculiarities of the race of oxen? What must we say of the infinitude of them, which must have been necessary for the production of all the complicated organisms and adaptations of animal life? This philosophy affirms that the bodily, intellectual, and moral nature of the most highly gifted man has been slowly evolved by a few unintelligent forces in a long line of ancestry from

a simple cell. Will it endeavour to compute the number of distinct species which must have been evolved in this long succession? the number of æons which must have elapsed before each stage could have been accomplished? or the number of happy chances which must have concurred before each step could have become a possibility? When it has done this, let it multiply these arrays of figures, which it is scarcely possible to embody in any finite conception, and present us with the result? Surely this philosophy has stumbled on the regions of miracle without observing it. Far more miraculous is this mode of evolving the universe than the intervention of an intelligent Creator.

"The number of intersections of independent forces, directed by nothing but blind laws, which this system is compelled to postulate, is alone sufficient to destroy its claim to be received as a philosophy. We know, as a matter of fact, that the occurrence of one lucky chance is a reason for expecting that it will not occur again; but this system is compelled to postulate them in endless succession. What right has it to make unlimited drafts on the infinite past, or the infinite future? What can positive science have to say to either of them? To affirm that blind forces can effect all things, if they have only sufficient time in which to operate, is not to propound a philosophy, but its negation. Our author, however, is not insensible to the difficulties with which he has to struggle. 'It

was doubtless,' he says, 'no small achievement, when, in yon ape-like horde, which we must consider as the cradle of the human race, the thoroughly erect posture became the fashion, instead of the waddle or partially developed gait of the higher apes; but step by step it went on improving, and time at least was no consideration. . . . . More astonishing still does this progress appear, from the harsh scream of the ape to articulate human speech.'

"Yes, doubtless, vast is the gulf which separates the two, for it involves the entire interval which separates the rational from the irrational, the self-conscious from the non-self-conscious, the capacity of moral obligation from the absence of it. Strauss is well aware that without language as an instrument, all real thought is impossible. He therefore summons to his aid a race or races of intermediate beings, of whose existence the evidence is *nil*, and supposes that they have existed. He also observes that monkeys have a kind of language, although he candidly admits that, whatever else they are capable of being taught (and they can be taught many things), they have never learned to speak, even when they have been brought into the closest contact with man. Nor has our constant companion, the dog, with his half-rationality and his apparent desire to give utterance to his feelings, made the smallest approach to the use of articulate speech, although he has been the friend of man for thousands of years. If

a Pantheistic or an Atheistic philosopher could educate either the dog or monkey to use rationally even the lowest elements of human language, he would do more to prove his theory than by millions of conjectures.

"But, adds our author, 'Ere that pre-human branch little by little elaborated something of a language, periods of immeasurable duration may have elapsed; but after he had once hit upon speech, in however imperfect a condition, the speed of his progress was vastly accelerated,' &c.

"I ask emphatically, is it reasoning, to have recourse to the magic talisman of infinite time, as the solution of every difficulty? Is it not more rational to invoke the aid of an intelligent Creator? If it be replied that an intelligent Creator belongs to the regions of the unknowable, does not an inexhaustible past eternity equally belong to them? Does it not leave the origin of intelligence utterly unsolved?

"Our author justly remarks, that if the power of thought fills us with astonishment, that of feeling is no less marvellous. 'A divine force,' says he, 'reveals itself in the sensations of the lowest animal as much as in the brain of a Newton.' After giving utterance to this great truth, a number of reasonings follow, for the purpose of proving that neither the one nor the other is divine. 'If,' says he, 'under certain conditions, motion can be transformed into heat, why may it not, under other conditions, be

transformed into thought, into sensation, or even into self-conscious reason and will?' Why, indeed? Because the one class of phenomena are entirely different from the other. Any philosophy worthy of the name ought to give proof of its assumed facts, instead of taking them for granted, by asking others to prove their impossibility.

"This school of philosophy is forced to admit that there are certain organisms which are formidable obstacles in the way of elaborating the universe without the aid of an intelligent Creator. Of these, the eye may be taken as a crucial instance. 'It is formed,' says Strauss, 'not in the light, but in the darkness of the womb, yet it is admirably adapted to light which has had no concern in its formation.' A similar difficulty is well put by another writer, quoted by our author, respecting the instincts of animals. 'These latter enable them to perform from their birth, with hereditary finished art, to which the highest reason might have prompted them for their well-being, without any thought, experience, or practice on their part, or any instruction, example, or pattern.' Pantheism endeavours to account for this by assuming the presence of unconscious intellect in the universe.

"Let it be observed that our sole experience of intellect is as an attribute of conscious beings. If philosophy is to rest on a basis of fact, the existence of unconscious intellect diffused in the universe is a

gratuitous assumption. No doubt many intellectual processes take place in our minds without leaving any trace on the memory; perhaps without emerging into direct consciousness. This is especially the case with such actions as have become habitual. But this affords no proof of the presence of intellect in a wholly different class of beings. If unconscious intellect can exist independently of any thinking subject, and aid in the construction of organisms, it follows that it must be inherent in every particle of matter of which they are composed. Also, that these unconscious intellectual atoms must have the faculty of acting in unison for the production of a common end; and from the various means by which it may be accomplished, of selecting the most suitable. The bare statement of such a proposition is its most effectual refutation.

"Next, our author invokes a theory of an unconscious absolute, which, 'acting in all atoms, and organisms, as a universal soul, determines the contents of creation, and the evolution of the universe, by a "Clairvoyant Wisdom," superior to all consciousness.' Such a theory may safely be consigned to the regions of dreary mysticism, though it is one which was hardly to be expected from one who imagines that he has escaped from the regions of the miraculous, by eliminating the conception of God from his philosophy.

"But to enable him to account for the production

of beings endowed with these faculties our author supplements these two principles by a theory of inherited habits, transmitted through a long line of ancestors, which have been gradually accumulated through indefinite successions of æons. 'It is not,' says he, 'the seeing individual which forms its own or its offspring's eyes by acting in concert with light . . . . . the individual finds itself put into possession of an instrument which its predecessors, during immemorial time, have gradually brought to an ever higher grade of perfection.' Again, 'It is not our present bee which plans its skilful constructions, neither is it instructed in them by a Deity; but in the lapse of thousands of years, since the lowest instincts were gradually developed into the various forms of Hymenoptera, the increasing needs produced by the struggle for existence have gradually fashioned these acts, which are now transmitted without effort as heirlooms to the present generation.'

"In the case of the eye there are two problems which require a definite solution, and we must not have our mental vision distracted from the point at issue by any phantasmagoria of words. First, the admirable adjustments and adaptations of the instrument itself—How come they? Secondly, How has this instrument, formed in total darkness, become perfectly correlated to the properties of light? There is one solution of these problems quite simple, and fully adequate to account for the facts—the existence of a

God of boundless power and matchless skill, and fully acquainted with all resources and the end to be attained, who has framed the mechanism and adjusted it to external nature.

"But there is also the solution of Pantheism and Atheism. Some of the simplest forms of life in the shape of cells burst into existence we know not how. These in the course of indefinite æons developed themselves into organisms of the simplest character, and these into others of endless variety, impelled by blind forces alone; these grew into more perfect forms in the struggle for existence. Though why, until life had become abundant, there should have been any struggle at all it is hard to conceive. A power of sensation originated somehow, but how or whence we have no means of telling. These beings gradually differentiated themselves—but how, whence, or where this power originated, or how each became possessed of another power, that of propagating its like—this philosophy is silent. After long courses of indefinite æons, a general power of sensation, diffused throughout the entire animal, concentrated itself in special senses, and produced the lowest form of eyes. Æon after æon rolled on its relentless course; variation arose after variation. Struggles for existence were ever ready to destroy imperfect specimens; at length one of the most perfect forms of eyes emerge. But all this leaves the problems with which we started utterly unaccounted for—viz., whence has originated

the adaptations of the instrument itself; and how, being formed in darkness, has it become perfectly adapted to external light?

"With respect to the origin of instincts, our philosophers take refuge in a theory of transmitted habits during something like an eternity of time. Step by step they have grown from the smallest origin, and by gradual accretions have been handed down from remote ancestors until they have assumed their present form. But if this were conceivable, the question arises, How came habits to be thus transmissible? Is it the result of the action of blind forces or of intelligence? Again, why is it that the inherited habits of instinctive intelligence, which must have been possessed by multitudes of ancestors in the long line of man's pedigree, have not been transmitted to him; but in this respect he is utterly distanced by the inferior animals? Let it be observed, that it is not a single instinct which has to be accounted for, but numbers numberless, spread over the wide regions of animated nature, and each adapted to the external circumstances of the animal.

"The philosophy which we are considering is never wearied with urging the objection that our conception of a personal God is nothing more nor less than a magnified man. A very popular writer has recently had the bad taste to assert that the belief in a personal Gods differs little from a magnified Lord Shaftesbury. Such a question is one far too grave to be settled by ridicule.

"It is perfectly true, that as long as man is man he can only represent truth in human conceptions. No less so is it that multitudes of his conceptions are inadequate representations of the realities beyond. If our reasonings were to be confined to conceptions which are adequate representations of things, they would be few indeed. The truth is, there is a law of our intellectual being which compels us to transcend the limits of the finite, and to assert that there must exist something beyond our highest conceptions of it. It is the very condition of thought.

"But this philosophy affirms that the conception of a being who is at the same time personal and infinite involves a direct contradiction, and that a philosophy which asserts the existence of a personal God must be rotten at its foundations.

"It is perfectly true that we have no experience of personality except as an attribute of finite beings. Let us inquire what we mean when we affirm that we are persons. A being who is a person is one who can predicate 'I' of himself, who is conscious that he is distinct from all other persons, and non-persons, whose identity is preserved throughout all changes, and through protracted intervals of time, who feels himself to be a free agent, and is the subject of moral affections. There is no reason why an infinite being should not be capable of all these. The objection would be equally valid against introducing infinite quantities into calculations, because all our concep-

tions are finite. These, however, exist for the practical operations of mathematicians.

"There is no doubt that the habit of theologians of reasoning about the infinite in the abstract, and not in the concrete, has involved the whole controversy in serious difficulties. What do we really mean when we assert that God is infinite? I answer that He is a being who transcends our highest thoughts, and that He is something beyond which we cannot fathom; that there is no point of space where His energy is not present; that there is nothing which is possible which he cannot effect; nor any knowledge which He does not possess. His moral attributes ought to be designated perfect rather than infinite. The conception of infinite is quantitive, a moral one has nothing to do with quantity. Perfection, not infinitude, is properly applied to our ideas of justice, holiness, truthfulness, benevolence. The conception of a personal being, who in this sense is both infinite and perfect, plainly involves no contradiction; and is evidently not unthinkable, though our conception of Him may be inadequate.

Now, while it is a law of our nature that all our ideas must be human ones, there is no possible reason why they may not represent attributes of other beings as well as of ourselves. If I see an animal perform actions of a certain character, I am justified in drawing the conclusion that they are the results of intelligence. I infer justly that the animal mind possesses

in these respects an intelligence similar to my own. If then, I can conceive of an imperfect form of intelligence, and reason on the fact, why may I not attribute our highest powers, freed from the imperfections with which they exist in man, to God? To assert that such an act is merely to manufacture a gigantic Lord Shaftesbury is not to appeal to reason, but to the worst feelings of our nature.

"Nothing more clearly shows the impotency of this philosophy to grapple with the difficulties in which it is involved than the necessity it is under to use language which contradicts the truth of its own assumptions. Our author endeavours to apologize for the practice: 'In so far as we speak,' says he, 'of a purpose in the universe, we are clearly conscious that we are expressing ourselves subjectively, and that we only express by it what we seem to recognise as the general result of the co-operation of the entire powers of the world.'

"In one word, all such expressions are blinds to enable us to impose on ourselves. A purpose in the universe is no purpose. It exists only in a delusive fancy of our subjective selves. Numbers of similar conceptions made use of by this philosophy can only exist as attributes of personality, and are utterly inapplicable to an impersonal something, whether we designate it Universe or God.

"Yet our author writes as follows:—'The general deduction from the existence of the universe appears to be, as a whole, the most varied motion or the

greatest abundance of life; this motion or life specialized as one developing itself morally as well as physically, struggling outwards and upwards, and even in the decline of the individual only preparing a new uprising.'

"Such language is a plain stultification of the principles on which this philosophy is based. Still more remarkable is the following passage:—'From our standpoint the object of the terrene development seems much nearer its attainment now, when the earth is filled by men and their works . . . . than many thousands of years ago, and when she was still exclusively occupied by mollusca and cretacea, to which fish were added later, then the mighty saurians with their allied species, and, finally, the primeval mammals, yet without man.'

"What object? I ask; for an impersonal Cosmos can have none. Is man, then, the end of creation, its complement and crown? Is the purpose of an impersonal Cosmos getting near its realization? Unless this philosophy utters absolute nonsense, it has arrived at the same conclusion as Theism, that a purpose exists somewhere in the universe. Common sense must draw the conclusion that a purpose can exist only in a personal intelligence, *i.e.* in God.

"But there is a future which this philosophy must face, and which the mind of man, despite of all philosophy, will inquire into with the profoundest interest. What, then, are the destinies of the Cosmos?

What are the future prospects of man as an individual and a race? Let us hear the answer which it returns. 'Nevertheless a time must come when the earth will be no longer inhabited; nay, when we shall have ceased to exist as a planet. Then all which in the course of her development was produced, and in a manner accomplished by her—all living and rational beings and all their productions, all political organizations, all works of art and science—will not only necessarily have vanished from existence without a trace, but even the memory of them will survive in no mind, as the history of the earth must necessarily perish with her.'

"Surely this is a dark prospect which this philosophy unfolds. Man, as an individual, and as a race, shall pass into eternal silence; and no trace of him or his works shall remain in any mind. Still, if this is the inevitable destiny of the future, let us face it boldly and honestly; and not imitate the ancient philosopher, who wished, if the doctrine of man's immortality were not true, that no one should undeceive him while he lived. No; if this philosophy is true, the most cultivated intellects, the greatest moral elevation, and the lowest baseness of wickedness, shall alike rest in peaceful, but eternal silence.

"Again, 'Either the earth,' says the author, 'has missed her aim here—no result has been produced by her protracted existence—or this aim did not consist in something which was intended to endure, but has

been attained at every moment of her development.' Let us take courage then, for the gospel of despair can only express itself in the terms of the gospel of hope. Nature then has an aim and a purpose! Aims and purposes are not attributes of an impersonal infinity, but of intelligence, personality, and will. It also announces that the infinite All perishes not, nor ceases from its perfection. 'The All in no succeeding moment is more perfect than in the preceding one, nor *vice versâ*. There exists in it, in fact, no such distinction as sooner or later, because all gradations and successions, stages of contraction and expansion, ascent and decline, becoming and perishing, exist side by side, mutually supplementing one another to infinity.' This then is our consolation. Though we perish, the mighty All remains unchanged in its perfection. The elements of which we are composed may, during the evolutions of eternity, help to build up glorious galaxies, though of ourselves, as conscious individuals, there shall be no resurrection.

"There is something in human nature too strong for the reasonings of Pantheistic and Atheistic philosophy to crush. Danton, when questioned at his last trial as to his abode, replied, 'My abode shall soon be annihilation; but I shall live in the Pantheon of History.' This philosophy teaches that even this hope is only a fond delusion. What are the substitutes it furnishes to satisfy the eager cravings of

the human heart? Ah! a reverent regard for a Cosmos for which it is impossible to feel either reverence or regard. The memory of a departed wife, to be to us in place of a religion; the worship of humanity, typified in a female form, the destruction of which humanity is certain. This is its substitute for a personal God, the moral governor of the universe which He has created—whose attributes are justice, mercy, and truth; whose providence embraces all His works; who shall continue reigning for ever and ever. Religion teaches an hereafter, which shall give a scope for the exercise of man's mighty powers which is denied him here. But this philosophy affirms that one destiny awaits the holiest and the most abandoned, the man of the most disinterested benevolence and the most refined cruelty, a Nero and a St. Paul—a silence from which there shall be no awakening—the conscious being of both alike shall be swallowed up in the infinite Cosmos. The only conclusion of such a philosophy must be, let each man enjoy life as he best can, for we shall die tomorrow, and sleep for ever the sleep of unconsciousness. The best safeguard against such a philosophy is, that human nature will refuse to accept it as a true account of its aims, its aspirations, and its destinies."

I have quoted largely from the above paper, in the same way as I have done with those utterances of a

different character which I have from time to time reported.

Under the conditions of membership prevailing in the Victoria Institute, it was not, of course, possible to have any great collision of opinion. There was, in fact, some danger lest we should altogether renounce the dialectical method in favour of a stagnant mutual admiration. The chairman, while admiring the paper on the whole, thought Mr. Row had scarcely grasped Darwinism, which he defended. Mr. Darwin, he said, admitted God *plus* natural selection, but in such a way that it appeared to the speaker, he was rather polytheistic than atheistic or pantheistic. An inoffensive gentleman asked whether Mr. Row believed in the evolution of man; whereupon Mr. Row, who was as lithe and active as his querist was stout and phlegmatic, flew at him and hit out cruelly—in an intellectual, not a physical way, of course—saying he had made that perfectly clear in his lecture, and half insinuating that the adipose gentleman had been asleep. One gentleman just behind me had slept all through the paper, and snored so loudly that we had to stir him up with the point of an umbrella; but it was not this one: and he sat down again with a look of personal injury on his countenance which it was painful to witness. A fresh-looking gentleman, who seemed to carry weight with the meeting (but whose name I cannot chro-

nicle, as the chairman omitted to name any of the speakers who were members), then took Mr. Row to task on the subject of the dice and lucky chances, which he set down as a "mathematical heresy." It was quite refreshing to find some heterodoxy in so august an assembly. Dr. Irons, whom I knew by sight, said it was sad to find Strauss and Mill so popular, and asked how it was that such was the case when Christianity had been in possession of the world so long? Why would men accept a "thin theism" in place of dogmatic Christianity?—It was because they saw we were ourselves afraid of dogma.

This was all the discussion—if so it could be called—which we had; and by-and-by even this flagged, and blushing disputants had to be fished out from among the visitors. Last of all, and very much the least, my turn came; and if I quote myself it is only to chronicle the impression left upon my own mind at the moment. I told those orthodox Victorians that I had just concluded a personal examination of all the Atheistical and Secularist meetings I could find in London; and I thought it was a great pity men of Mr. Row's calibre did not go and discuss matters with the representatives of those systems on their own platforms, instead of leaving the defence of Theism to the feeble ninepins that had been bowled over so triumphantly. In his reply he confined himself to my speech, and agreed with me that Christianity

suffered more from its weak defenders than its most powerful opponents.

It may not be out of place to append to the above a brief account of Pantheism, extracted from the Secular Almanac for 1874 :—

"By Theism we mean the recognition of a principle apart from nature, independent of nature, yet moulding, regulating, and sustaining nature. This principle is supposed to be spiritual, and to be able to communicate to dead matter vital and organic energy. On the contrast between the spiritual and the material Theism is fond of dwelling. Both literally and substantially Atheism is simply the denial of Theism, but it is not the necessary rejection of a formative or procreant force in the universe, which many Atheists are the foremost to admit. The spiritual, whatever meaning may be attached to the word, Atheism consistently renounces and persistently denounces. That ascription to the universe itself of those attributes which the Theist limits to an infinite and spiritual principle is Pantheism, whereof, however, as of Theism and Atheism, there are numerous varieties. By way of distinction, I call the Pantheism in which I believe, and have long believed, Pantheism poetical and passionate. For Pantheism the distinction between the material and the spiritual is wholly meaningless. Pantheism propounds and defends the unity of substance, a unity carrying us into depths where the

material and the spiritual lose their customary signification. Conscious substance, acting eternally and instinctively, such is the universe to the Pantheist, who everywhere beholds supreme order, but not in the rationalistic sense. All things, according to him, not merely flow from the substance conscious and One, but are essential portions thereof. He thinks that nature creates, not with plan or purpose, but from interior and irresistible necessity. Hence he takes a cosmical not an ethical view of the Cosmos and all its relations; and instead of puzzling himself about Providence, he tries to identify himself to the utmost with the universal life. Of this universal life he does not pretend to know anything. It is to him an impenetrable mystery, whose common veil is form, whose higher veil is beauty, whose highest veil is symbol. Sympathizing with the universal life, Pantheism sympathizes with all its manifestations, with its minutest expressions, with its tiniest embodiments, and it finds nothing specially miraculous simply because it finds everything miraculous. Free from intellectual disdains, Pantheism is equally free from the ambition to solve problems. There are, in truth, no problems in the universe; it is only ethical Theism which encounters problems, and perplexes itself with them. One of the figments on which Pantheism makes war is the notion that man is ceaselessly progressive. The tides of life ebb and flow in human destinies as in the entire sum of existence, and they

have no reference to remote results and final triumphs, either in the development of mankind or in development generally. Nevertheless, though Pantheism scorns theories and abstractions, it is intensely idealistic. As nature is the symbol of symbols, so is she likewise the idealist of idealists, striving evermore toward the unattainable. As the son and adorer of nature, the Pantheist idealizes his own being, idealizes whatsoever comes within the sweep of his phantasy.

"Next to the living universe, it is with the great Pantheistic philosophies, the great Pantheistic religions of olden days, and of Oriental climes, that he loves to hold converse. It is the hope of still sublimer Pantheistic philosophies, still sublimer Pantheistic religions, than those of the past which cheers him. But while he is always willing to bear testimony to his faith, he is never inclined to take either a proselytizing or a polemical attitude, knowing how little his puny efforts can either help or hinder. He is persuaded that the only demonstration of the Pantheistic evangel which he can give to his brethren is the nobleness and heroism of his own deeds. Democracy he views not as man's ultimate condition, but as the path to the Theocracy, for with the Theocracy man began, and to the Theocracy he must return. Pantheism at present is not much more than an aspiration. The war between Theism and Atheism must be fought out before there can be a magnificent and

exuberant Pantheistic revival. So gross are the inconsistencies, so crass the imbecilities, so debasing the tendencies of Theism, that Atheism would have an easy victory over it if the European world had not been for two thousand years under the empire of Theistic influences. Theism must perish as slowly as Polytheism perished—perish from the assaults of Atheism, perish from its own exhaustion and corruption. The Polytheism of the Greeks and the Romans was an imperfect Pantheism. In its deification of the individual objects of nature it overlooked or did not comprehensively behold, as the Indian and Egyptian religions beheld, Nature, the Mighty Mother herself. Pantheism revels in the illimitable; but art, in which the Romans, and especially the Greeks, excelled, is limitation and self-limitation. To say that Pantheism is the most joyous of creeds would not be enough to prove its superiority. Its disciples, however, deem it the truest of creeds, because the most natural. Having its birth in the fetishism of the savage, it ascends and ascends, it expands and expands, till the Pantheistic religions and the Pantheistic philosophies are as rich in symbol and suggestion as the universe itself. Logical Pantheisms, such as those of Spinoza and Hegel, are by no means attractive. To be fascinating Pantheism must wear a poetical garb, such a garb as Shelley could have given it, and in his gladder and grander moments really gave it; and it would not be wrong to call Shelley the laureate of Pantheism, for

his professed Atheism was little more than a cry of anger and anguish, or a caprice. Whoso lives poetically and rejoicingly in nature, venerates nature as holy, loyally submits to nature, evermore idealizes nature, is substantially a Pantheist, even if he is regarded as an Atheist by others and by himself. However, the vast Pantheistic temple, the universe, is, with its starry dome ever open, whether the worshippers there be many or few."

AN ATHEIST'S FUNERAL.

To those who believe in special providences there might appear something significant in the death of Mr. Austin Holyoake at the very time when the last sheet of this book was going through the press.

It was in the following words that the *National Reformer* announced the departure from this life of one who was in many respects foremost in the ranks of Advanced Thought in London, Austin Holyoake:—

In Memoriam.

"GONE BEFORE."

AUSTIN HOLYOAKE,

Died April 10th, 1874.

AGED FORTY-SEVEN YEARS.

"This world is the nurse of all we know;
This world is the mother of all we feel;
And the coming of death is a fearful blow
To a brain unencompassed with nerves of steel."

"I have lost a friend; the movement has lost a worker. Nearly a quarter of a century since our first meeting, and fourteen years of the closest friendship

and communion, death has closed a well-filled common page, in which no word of quarrel or mistrust has ever figured between us. For quite three years death has waited very near, and the ending is no sudden shock; but it is none the less painful to lose one trusty counsellor and loyal co-worker from a circle so narrow. This journal has owed much to his labour; our movement is greatly debtor to his loyalty. Not my pen can tell the story of his life, but he died as true and brave as man could die. His 'Sick-room Thoughts,' which appear in another column, dictated to his wife and revised by himself, were—at his own request, and in any event—to have been published this week. Two days before he died I received the MS. from his own hands to give to the compositor. This is now become the voice from the tomb, the last utterance of his thoughts. He identified himself with my cause, made his foes mine; and if this my tribute to the dead be poor and weak it is from my lack of power to make mere words the translators of my emotions. "CHARLES BRADLAUGH."

I could not help noticing as adding to the pathos of this touching "In Memoriam" the omission of those two words which form its complement to the Christian. To the believer in an immortality and future reunion it reads "Not lost, but gone before"—to the unbeliever, only "Gone before." Probably no such speaking symbol of the difference be-

tween the two systems could be instanced as the negative one of the quiet elimination from thought and speech of the words "Not lost." Even suppose it be but the wish which is father to the thought, there is surely more comfort in realizing the exquisite words of Keble—

> 'Tis sweet, as year by year we lose
> Friends out of sight on earth, to muse
> How grows in Paradise our store.

The following are the Thoughts in the Sick-room referred to above:—

"April 8th, 1874.—All those persons who have taken the trouble to read what I have written in the *National Reformer* for some years past, and also published in pamphlets, will know what my opinions on death and immortality recently were. Those views were formed when I was in perfect health, and after years of reflection and inquiry. I am now about to state how my views remain after protracted suffering.

"Christians constantly tell Freethinkers that their principles of 'negation,' as they term them, may do very well for health; but when the hour of sickness and approaching death arrives, they utterly break down, and the hope of a 'blessed immortality' can alone give consolation. In my own case I have been very anxious to test the truth of this assertion, and have therefore deferred till the latest moment I think it prudent to dictate these few lines.

"I was born of religious parents, my mother being

especially pious, belonging to that most terrible of all sects of the Christian body—the Calvinistic Methodists. From my earliest childhood I remember being taught to dread the wrath of an avenging God, and to avoid the torments of a brimstone hell. I said prayers twice a day, I went to a Sunday-school where I learnt nothing but religious dogmas, and I had to read certain chapters of the Bible during the week. My Sundays were mostly days of gloom; and I may sincerely say that up to the age of fourteen I was never free from the haunting fear of the devil.

"About this period new light began to break in upon me. Robert Owen and his disciples first appeared in Birmingham, and attracted much attention. My eldest brother and sisters went to hear the new preachers, and what they had heard they came home and discussed. I listened with all the eagerness of an enthusiastic boy, and from that hour my mental emancipation set in.

"My belief in the infallibility of the Bible first gave way. Soon after commenced my disbelief in the possession of any special knowledge on the part of the preachers of the Gospel, of the God and immortality of which they talked so glibly. But it was years before I thought my way to Atheism. It cannot therefore be said that I never experienced religious emotions.

"For twenty years past my mind has been entirely free from misgivings or apprehensions as to any

future state of rewards and punishments. I do not believe in the Christian Deity, nor in any form of so-called supernatural existence. I cannot believe in that which I cannot comprehend. I shall be accused of presumption in expressing disbelief in an idea which has commanded the faith of some of the best intellects for centuries past. This I cannot help. I must think for myself; and if each of those great men had been asked to define his God, it may safely be predicted that no two would have agreed. I may also be reminded that 'the fool hath said in his heart there is no God.' This would imply thought, and it is doubtful whether *a fool* ever thought upon the subject at all; but his idea of a Deity, if it could be got at, would no doubt be as coherent as most other men's. Many fools have written and spoken as though they had penetrated the secrets of the inscrutable, and many wise men have lost their reason in endeavouring to solve the insoluble; and the world remains just as ignorant on the subject as it did at the earliest dawn of civilization.

"I do not believe in a heaven, or life of eternal bliss after death. There is nothing in this world to induce me to give credence to the possibility of such a state of human existence. Wherever there are living organisms there are suffering and torture amongst them; therefore analogy would go to prove that if we lived again we should suffer again. To desire eternal bliss is no proof that we shall ever

attain it; and it has long seemed to me absurd to *believe* in that which we wish for, however ardently. I regard all forms of Christianity as founded in selfishness. It is the expectation held out of bliss through all eternity, in return for the profession of faith in Christ and Him crucified, that induces the erection of temples of worship in all Christian lands. Remove this extravagant promise, and you will hear very little of the Christian religion.

"An eternal hell seems to me too monstrous for the belief of any humane man or sensitive woman; and yet millions believe in it. Like heaven, it is enormously disproportionate to the requirements of the case; as man can never confer benefits deserving an eternal reward, so it is impossible for him to commit sins deserving eternal punishment. The idea must have had its origin in the diseased imagination of some fanatic; but it has been carefully cherished and improved upon by priests in subsequent ages, till it is now incorporated in the creed of all Christian churches. Father Pinamonti's 'Hell Open to Christians,' and the Rev. Mr. Furness's 'Sight of Hell,' show to what a fearful extent this diabolical idea can be used in warping and stultifying the minds of the young.

"As I have stated before, my mind being free from any doubts on these bewildering matters of speculation, I have experienced for twenty years the most perfect mental repose; and now I find that the near approach of death, the 'grim King of Terrors,' gives

me not the slightest alarm. I have suffered, and am suffering, most intensely both by night and day; but this has not produced the least symptom of change of opinion. No amount of bodily torture can alter a mental conviction. Those who, under pain, say they see the error of their previous belief, had never thought out the problem for themselves.

"I cannot conclude without expressing the gratification I have received from my connexion with the *National Reformer*. My work on it has indeed been a labour of love, and my association therein, with my esteemed friends Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Charles Watts, for the past eight years, has been of the most harmonious nature. My extreme regret now is, that I cannot do my full share in the work the 'Trinity' have hitherto performed; but I must bend to inevitable fate, and content myself by knowing that an abler and better man may be found to take my place. However, of this I am sure, that my colleagues will never meet with a more faithful and ardent friend.

"To the true courage and patience of my dear and devoted wife I owe my present tranquillity. In my little son and daughter I have all a father's hope and confidence, and it softens the pain of parting when I contemplate leaving them with one who has all the——

[Mr. Austin Holyoake commenced the dictation of this last paragraph a few hours before he died; but, being soon exhausted, had to break off, and was not able to resume it.]"

It was soon after noontide, on a genial spring day, when I set out for the beautiful northern suburb of Highgate to attend the Atheist's funeral. Emerald buds decked each living bough, and seemed to realize Sydney Smith's idea when he pointed to the crocus peering above the mould and said, "The resurrection of the world!" For him who was to be borne to his last resting-place, and for those who would follow him there was no resurrection realized, even in conception. It was the heathen notion of the eternal farewell that was to be embodied there in the quiet sleeping-place. It was for them no cemetery—no sweet place of repose—but veritably the Necropolis, the City of the Dead.

A motley throng, representing the most advanced Free-thought of London, had gathered round the open grave, which was of course in the unconsecrated and less frequented part of the cemetery—as quiet and retired á nook as one could wish to rest in when "the fever called living is over at last." There were many faces I had seen of late on London platforms; many voices I had heard in hot debate were hushed to silence in the forced solemnity of that gathering round the grave.

Doubt as we will, that same grave will make us serious. Though why should it do so, if it were only something akin to yon clods, something far inferior to the germs of that budding hedgerow yonder —we were committing to the earth?

At length a procession of the hearse and seven mourning coaches, followed by one private carriage, made its appearance at the lower entrance of the cemetery, and having finally halted, the remains—if so we dare write it—of the dead unbeliever were borne to the grave, the mourners following bareheaded in double line. Behind the coffin were three brothers and the little son of the deceased. Who could help surmising the effect on the child of such a sepulture for his father?

When the body was lowered into the grave Mr. Charles Watts, in a voice broken with emotion, read over it the form of service written by Mr. Holyoake himself, and quoted at page 179 above. Mr. Bradlaugh, who, man of iron nerve as he is, could not quite control the quivering nerves of his rigid face, spoke as follows, and then the brief ceremony was over:—

"Here we pay farewell tribute to the last remains of my staunch friend, and your most loyal brother and true servant to the cause of human progress. Death came to him so slowly and yet so certainly, and with such constant menace, that it needed great courage to await the end so long and so bravely as he awaited. Around his grave we are gathered, each reverently placing on his coffin our testimony to his fidelity; trusting that thereout our children's memory will weave an enduring wreath of immortelles to mark at least his life, even when his tomb shall be forgot-

ten. He has left us two legacies—one, the benefit of which enures to all who desire thought free and true—this is, the tendency of the labour of his life. The other legacy, involving some duty, was an unwilling one—he would not have left it to us willingly as any burden. His last recorded words, broken short like some death-marking granite splinter, remind us of this second legacy—his wife, his boy, his girl. To-morrow can alone tell whether his little ones shall have to be glad or sorry that their father died believing that the party whose minister he had been would try to smooth the life path his death has made for them so rugged. Of the dead and to the dead I can say nothing; a quarter of a century's recollections, and fourteen years' unbroken friendship are now in that grave.

He did well; he did his best;
No more weary, now at rest."

With the one last lingering gaze upon the coffin-lid, which seémed so instinctive at such a moment, the hopeless mourners withdrew, and left him whom, in thought, they had lost for ever. There were few around the grave except those who shared the sentiments of the buried; but I heard one rough woman, evidently uninitiated, thus criticise to her companion the two addresses she had listened to:—"It *was* beautiful. And they call them Infidels! They might put many of our Christians to shame." It was another of the many cases I have noticed, and some

of which I had cited, where men are so vastly better than their creeds; and I believe if hearts could have been analysed that spring afternoon, a gentler scepticism would have been found there than was often admitted, and which contained the germs of hope within it. The *genius loci* must have inspired so much; though who shall say how evanescent it was, or how soon, after they had turned their backs upon that grave, it relapsed into the old unhappy negation? To me it seemed a strange and significant commentary upon my then concluded work of examining the ranks of the unbelievers. It needed only the adoption of the new system, cremation, to have reproduced exactly that funeral scene so graphically described in Lord Lytton's "Last Days of Pompeii," with its

SALVE ETERNUM.

Farewell! O soul departed!
  Farewell! O sacred urn!
Bereaved and broken-hearted,
  To earth the mourners turn!
To the dim and dreary shore
Thou art gone our steps before!
  But thither the swift hours lead us,
  And thou dost but a while precede us!
                Salve! salve
Loved urn; and thou, solemn cell,
Mute ashes! farewell, farewell!
                Salve! salve!

* * * *

Ilicet—ire licet.

The spark from the hearth is gone
  Wherever the air shall bear it;
The elements take their own——

* * * *

As I sat in the quiet sleeping-place of God's Acre, after the rest had gone, and read over again a kindly letter the dead man had a short time since written me, the utter hopelessness of mere negation seemed to come so forcibly upon me as to carry its own assurance that it could not be true. God would be an austere man, and life the cruel infliction of a tyrant, if all ended in that grave yonder. And as I wended my way back to the Great City, there seemed to echo and re-echo through my mind those sadly beautiful lines of Clough's in reference to the resurrection, with which I once concluded a sermon on "The Sorrows of Scepticism:"—

Eat, drink, and die, for we are souls bereaved.
  Of all the creatures under heaven's wide cope
  We are most hopeless, who had once most hope,
And most beliefless, that had most believed.
      Ashes to ashes, dust to dust;
      As of the unjust, also of the just—
      Yea, of that Just One too!
  It is the one sad gospel that is true—
      Christ is *not* risen!
    Weep not beside the tomb,
    Ye women, unto whom
  He was great solace while ye tended Him;
    Ye who with napkin o'er the head,
  And folds of linen round each wounded limb,
    Laid out the Sacred Dead;
  And thou who bar'st Him in thy wondering womb;
Yea, daughters of Jerusalem, depart;
Build up as best ye may your own sad bleeding heart!

THE END.

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